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LIFE

OF

WILLIAM, EARL OF SHELBURNE.

LIFE

OF

WILLIAM, EARL OF SHELBURNE,

AFTERWARDS

FIRST MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE.

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM HIS PAPERS AND CORRESPONDENCE.

24286

BY

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE.

FC
9/8/69

VOLUME I.

1737–1766.

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PREFACE.

In 1870 I undertook to prepare for the Historical Manuscripts Commission a notice of the papers at Lansdowne House, which had been arranged for my grandfather by Sir James Lacaita. During the progress of my work I came to the conclusion that the materials existed for a Life of Lord Shelburne, if in addition to the papers at Lansdowne House I could have access to those of Lord Bute—the Prime Minister—now in the possession of the Earl of Harrowby, and those of Mr. Fox, now in the possession of Lady Holland. I accordingly asked permission of Lady Holland and Lord Harrowby to inspect their respective collections. With the utmost generosity they at once granted my request, and allowed me to take copies of the letters and papers relating to the period during which Lord Shelburne, Mr. Fox, and Lord Bute were in frequent communication.

The Shelburne MSS. at Lansdowne House consist

of letters, of a collection of copies of State papers, and of portions of an autobiography and other detached pieces from the pen of Lord Shelburne.

The State papers saved me a great deal of labour, as I was not obliged—having them before me—to refer on every occasion to the documents at the Record Office. Whenever this was necessary, I was met with that kindness and attention which every one who seeks information there invariably receives. My thanks are more especially due to Sir Thomas Hardy and Mr. Kingston.

The Autobiography consists of an account of Lord Shelburne's early life, with a sketch of the political history of England and of the characters of the leading statesmen of the period previous to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. What may be called two editions of it exist, and of these it is difficult to settle which is the earliest in date. Both show a complete absence of all revision, especially the less finished of the two, which however contains much interesting matter not to be found in the other, and in both the same story is frequently told twice over. A further difficulty arose from the chronological order being frequently departed from, though evidently present to the mind of the writer.

A careful study convinced me that without adding or altering anything beyond what was abso-

lutely necessary to make the story intelligible, by transposing various parts of the narrative so as to restore the chronological order, and at the same time by eliminating repetitions—in other words, by making those alterations which it may fairly be presumed Lord Shelburne would himself have made had he lived to revise his own work—I could present the Autobiography, so far as it exists, in a shape more agreeable to the reader and more just to the memory of my ancestor, than if I simply printed it off in the confused and disjointed condition in which he left it. At the same time I felt it right to state clearly the course I had pursued.

Besides the Autobiography Lord Shelburne has left an incomplete Memorandum on the events of 1762, which will be found printed under that date. In this memorandum he states that, in order to understand what then happened, it is necessary to have a clear notion of the characters of Lord Bute and Mr. Fox. Of these two characters he has left a description. The former is contained in one edition of the Autobiography mentioned above, the second exists in a separate shape. I have printed both in connection with the events of 1762, at the same time warning the reader that when Lord Shelburne wrote them he was no doubt partly under the influence of subsequent transactions.

The account of Lord George Sackville, given in connection with the advent to power of the first administration of Lord Rockingham, is a separate paper.

The account of the election of Colonel Barré at Wycombe stands in the middle of the less finished edition of the Autobiography. It has been printed in connection with the events of 1761, to which it more properly belongs.

I have also had the use of the diary of the first Lady Shelburne, and of a memorandum on his private affairs by Lord Shelburne, from both of which I have given some extracts.

The various memoranda left by Lord Shelburne and described above were written between 1800 and his death in 1805. It would appear as if he had intended to write a complete account of his own career, and was prevented from doing so by death. Had his life been prolonged the secret of Junius would now be known. Only a week before he died he was appealed to by Sir Richard Phillips on the subject, who communicated the result of the conversation to the "Monthly Magazine." Sir Richard Phillips said to Lord Shelburne—then Lord Lansdowne—that many persons had ascribed those letters to him, and that the world at large conceived that at least he was not unacquainted

with the author. Lord Lansdowne replied: "No, no, I am not equal to Junius; I could not be the author; but the grounds of secrecy are now so far removed *by death* and changes of circumstances, that it is unnecessary the author of Junius should much longer be unknown. The world are curious about him, and I could make a very interesting publication on the subject. I knew Junius, and *I knew all about the writing and production of those letters.* But look," said he, "at my condition; I don't think I can live a week—my legs, my strength tell me so; but the doctors, who always flatter sick men, assure me I am in no immediate danger. They order me into the country, and I am going there. If I live over the summer, which, however, I don't expect, I promise you a very interesting pamphlet about Junius. I will put my name to it; I will set that question at rest for ever." He subsequently added: "I'll tell you this for your guide generally—Junius has *never yet* been publicly named. None of the parties ever guessed at as Junius was the true Junius. Nobody has ever suspected him. I knew him; and knew all about it, and I pledge myself, if these legs will permit me, to give you a pamphlet on the subject, as soon as I feel myself equal to the labour." It appears from a letter written by my grandfather, Lord Lansdowne, in July 1813, to the

same periodical, that his father had not confided the secret to him or to any one else.

The present volume includes the period between 1737 and 1766, and ends with the acceptance by Lord Shelburne of the post of Secretary of State in the Ministry of Lord Chatham.

I hope in another volume to give an account of the political life of Lord Shelburne in office and in opposition, to explain how it was that Mr. Pitt in 1783 did not have Lord Shelburne for his colleague, to give some new details as to the condition of the Whig party during the French Revolution, to draw a picture of the society of which Bowood was the centre during the latter part of the century, and to describe the connection of Priestley, Price, and Bentham, with Lord Shelburne.

During the progress of my work, I have received much valuable assistance from the officials of the British Museum, more especially from Mr. Bond and Mr. Ryan. Mr. Lemon of the Privy Council Office aided me in my search through the records of the Council during 1765. The Rev. W. G. Carroll of Dublin, Mr. Barré Beresford, and Mr. Barré of Glasnevin, conveyed to me much important information as to the early life of Colonel Barré and other points. Mr. Edward Baring has kindly assisted me in the enquiries I have made for the letters written by

Lord Shelburne to Mr. Dunning, which I regret to say have hitherto proved fruitless. The Dowager Lady Lyveden and Lord and Lady Lyveden have allowed me to take notes of the letters written by Colonel Fitzpatrick, Lord Shelburne, and Lord Rockingham to the Earl and Countess of Upper Ossory. Lord Fitzwilliam has intimated to me that, should any important letters from Lord Shelburne to Lord Rockingham be found other than those printed in the Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham, prepared by Lord Albemarle, he will allow me the use of them.

I have to thank the Rev. J. R. Green for many valuable suggestions, and I desire to place on record the special obligations I am under to Sir James Lacaita for his arrangement of the Lansdowne House MSS.

Mr. Bancroft—as mentioned by him in the Preface to his History of the United States—was given access by my grandfather, Lord Lansdowne, to all the papers at Lansdowne House relating to American affairs during the three periods of Lord Shelburne's connection with them. Subsequently to the death of my grandfather the letters of George III. to Lord Shelburne were found at Bowood. My brother was of opinion—and I cordially concurred with him—that, as the use of these letters

would have been given in former years to Mr. Bancroft had they been known to exist, it would be right to give him the opportunity of seeing them now. I accordingly took advantage of a recent visit of that illustrious historian to inform him that they were at his disposal. To the kind terms in which he has recently acknowledged the advantage they have been to him it is not for me to refer, otherwise than by saying that he has forgotten to mention the return he made to me by placing many of the notes and transcripts taken during the progress of his own work, at my disposal for the Life of Lord Shelburne.

I cannot conclude these remarks without expressing my sense of the assistance I have received from Mr. J. H. Bradley as an amanuensis.

I may mention that the references to Walpole's Memoirs mean the Memoirs of the reign of George III. edited by Sir Dènis Le Marchant, except where otherwise stated, and those to Walpole's Letters the collection edited by Mr. Cunningham.

E. F.

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LIFE

OF

WILLIAM, EARL OF SHELBURNE.

THE LIFE

OF

WILLIAM, EARL OF SHELBURNE.

CHAPTER I.

A CHAPTER OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

1737–1757.

WILLIAM FITZMAURICE, afterwards Earl of Shelburne, was born on the 20th of May, 1737. He has left the following account of his own early life:

"I was born in Dublin. I spent the four first years of my life in the remotest part of the south of Ireland, under the government of an old grandfather * who reigned, or rather tyrannised, equally

* Thomas Fitzmaurice, Earl of Kerry. Antony Petty, of Romsey, clothier, had a son, William, afterwards the famous Sir William Petty, who died December 16th, 1687. His widow, Lady Petty, was made Baroness Shelburne in the Peerage of Ireland, and his eldest son, Charles, Baron of Shelburne, by a simultaneous creation, December 31st, 1687. The barony of Shelburne became extinct by the death of Charles, Lord Shelburne, without children in 1696. It was revived in favour of his brother Henry, October

over his own family and the neighbouring country as if it was his family, in the same manner as I suppose his ancestors, Lords of Kerry, had done for generations since the time of Henry II., who granted to our family 100,000 acres in those remote parts in consideration of their services against the Irish, with the title of Barons of Kerry. I have seen the original grant in the possession of my father, and it must be now in my brother's. It is a curiosity on account of its simplicity and brevity compared with grants of a later date, not being longer than a common writ of subpœna or a summons to Parliament. Both title and estates descending through so many generations from father to son in a country quite uncivilized, peopled by Catholicks, reduced by frequent rebellions, and laws passed in consequence, my ancestors necessarily

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26th, 1699, who was further created Viscount Dunkerron and Earl of Shelburne in the Peerage of Ireland, April 29th, 1719. These titles became extinct on his decease without issue April 17th, 1751, when his estates and property passed—under the term of his will—to John Fitzmaurice, the fifth son of Anne Petty, daughter of Sir William Petty by her marriage with Thomas Fitzmaurice, Earl of Kerry, on condition of his using the name and bearing the arms of Petty. John Fitzmaurice was in the same year raised to the Peerage of Ireland under the titles of Baron Dunkerron and Vicount Fitzmaurice.

In 1753 the earldom of Shelburne in the Peerage of Ireland was conferred upon him, and in 1760 he was raised to the Peerage of the United Kingdom by the title of Baron Wycombe.

exercised an absolute power over a great tract of country, and the more so as they had in general preserved their loyalty and their attachment to the English Government.* My grandfather did not want the manners of the country nor the habits of his family to make him a tyrant. He was so by nature. He was the most severe character which can be imagined, obstinate and inflexible; he had not much understanding, but strong nerves and great perseverance, and no education, except what he had in the army, where he served in his youth, with a good degree of reputation for personal bravery and activity. He was a handsome man and, luckily for me and mine, married a very ugly woman, who brought into his family whatever degree of sense may have appeared in it, or whatever wealth is likely to remain in it, the daughter of Sir William Petty,† known by his services and his works, and still more particularly to his family by a very singular will.‡

"Sir William Petty, in consequence of being Ireton's secretary, became accidentally a trustee in some family transaction, which becoming in the

* See "Sydney Papers and Moryson's Itinerary" (Note by Lord Shelburne).

† Anne Petty.

‡ This will is printed at length in vol. xxiv. of the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy" as an appendix to Mr. Hardinge's paper on the townland surveys in Ireland from 1640 to 1688.

course of some law proceeding necessarily known to the King and Lord Chancellor Clarendon, he was advised by his friends to suppress it at the risk of injuring the Cromwell family; but he appears to have spurned such an act of ingratitude, and says in one of his letters that so far from forfeiting his favour of the King and Chancellor, they both told him they thought much better of him, and they esteemed him the more for it. The great qualities of his daughter are mentioned by Dean Swift in his letters.

"My grandfather had ceased all intercourse with his eldest son, who was gentleman-like and spirited, but weak and debauched, and married into a very weak family, the Earl of Cavan's. As soon as he heard that a son was born of this marriage he exclaimed, "the House of Lixnaw is no more;" and so it literally proved, for the present Lord Kerry, after being educated under the direction of the Chancellor of Ireland and being left a good deal to himself, fell in love with a married lady twenty years older than himself, the daughter of an eminent Roman Catholic lawyer, and, obtaining a divorce, married her—an extraordinary, vain woman. Having their way to fight up to get into good company, and having no posterity, they sold every acre of land which had been in our family since Henry the Second's time, converting the remainder into

life-rents to which she brought a very considerable addition of her own, which for want of children descended to her sister, and they will thus have fulfilled the singular prediction I have here related.

"My grandfather, soon after he married, had retired to the seat of his ancestors, disgusted with some injury which he conceived to have been done to him in point of military promotion. My grandmother was of an ambitious active disposition and during her life, by dint of superior understanding, address, and temper (for he made an excessive bad husband as appears by several letters), sometimes drew him back into the world, and by a conduct which was a perfect model of sense, prudence, and spirit, educated her children well, gained her family consideration at home and abroad, furnished several houses, supported a style of living superior to any family whatever in Ireland, and with all this improved his fortune. After her death he buried both himself and family in the south of Ireland, where the great event of the year was the almanack, which he would allow nobody to read but himself, and served him in the stead of all other books. He read it to them every evening till a new one came out, for the satisfaction of descanting on every person who formed it of whom he had known while he lived in the world, stating what *he* might have been

if he had continued in it, and not forgetting those that had passed him by, upon whom he bestowed his abuse pretty freely. With all this he had high principles of honour and a strict love of justice, which made him govern the country better than he did his own family. He kept that barbarous country in strict subordination. He protected strangers and their property and took care that the laws should be executed, and all violences repressed. He governed his own family as he did the country. In consequence his children did not love him, but dreaded him; his servants the same. By all I have heard I was the only object of his affection for the four last years of his life.* He determined to charge himself with my education, which was to have been pretty much upon the plan which has since made the subject of so much refinement. Whether through affection or fear, he made such an impression upon me, that I perfectly remember him and several things concerning him at this moment. I can say with very great truth that, since I can remember, I have never forgot a kindness nor an injury, though I have forgiven many of the latter, having, thank God, by reading, reflection, and observation, rooted whatever degree of revenge I had by nature out of my character, of which I could give many proofs. I

* The first Earl of Kerry died in 1741.

have dwelt upon his character, because I ceased from his death to be an object of affection with anybody except Lady A. Denny,* to whom I owe any good I either learned or imbibed in the early part of my education. My grandfather died leaving the foundation of three families. His eldest son† inherited the family estate, which would amount to £20,000 a year at this time if it had not been dissipated by his son, the present Earl of Kerry,‡

* Lady Arabella Fitzmaurice, sister of John, Earl of Shelburne, married Mr. Alfred Denny, grandson of the Earl of Coningsby, and died in 1785. She left a curious will of which the following is an extract: "With regard to my own person my desires are very moderate: that I may not be buried till I am certainly dead; that I may be permitted to lie on my bed for 72 hours, and longer, if no signs of putrefaction appear, and that change happening, that I may be put into a leaden coffin, and my jugular veins opened, and then enclosed in an oak coffin, and conveyed to the church of Tralee on a hearse with but one mourning-coach; two servants and the driver of each carriage to be allowed their expenses on the road, the servants 4*s.* 4*d.*, and the drivers 2*s.* 8*d.* per day for fourteen days only, being full time for their return. I leave my chamber clock to Sir John Hort because he values time and makes a good use of it." Dr. Priestley describes Lady Arabella Denny as a woman of "good understanding and great piety."

† William, second Earl of Kerry, died 1747. The third family mentioned by Lord Shelburne, is that of his younger brother, created Lord Orkney.

‡ Francis Thomas, third Earl of Kerry, who, after dissipating the greater portion of his inheritance, invested what remained in French *assignats*. On his decease in 1818 the title of Earl of Kerry, with the Kerry property—reduced to the churchyard of Lixnaw—passed to the younger branch of the family then represented by Henry, third Marquis of Lansdowne.

who is likely to die leaving a very ancient title without an acre of land, out of so much which has escaped so long. His second son, my father, inherited from him what then amounted to nearly £3000 a year, and, being improvable, now produces above £6000 a year, which my father left to my brother on account of my inheriting from him the Petty Estates, for want of heirs male under the will of my grand uncle, Henry, Earl of Shelburne.

"My father* was forty-five years old when he emerged from the state of slavery and feudal habits which have been described. He had been bred at Westminster School, and, I do not know by what accident, passed some time afterwards in the south of France, but was obliged to spend most of his years in attendance upon his father in his Court of Lixnaw, where he could not acquire many new ideas in an ignorant neighbourhood, and under a sense of domestic tyranny, except what his own reflection bred. I must, however, do justice to my grandfather by saying, that he had an acknowledged love of honour, justice, and truth, which ought to balance his excess of severity. As far as I can learn both were the characteristics of the House of Lixnaw for many generations, and are distinguishable to this day in the small remains of it. I hope

* John, Earl of Shelburne, married his first cousin, Mary Fitzmaurice of Gallane.

I have introduced a degree of softness into it, but I must acknowledge out of regard to the truth, with which I profess to write these memoranda, that it has arisen more from self-discipline, good company, and observation of the world than from my own nature.

"If it had not been for the disadvantages I have described, my father with his fortune and the favour of accidents, would, I am persuaded, have made a distinguished man. He had an uncommon good plain understanding, great firmness, and love of justice, saw things public and private 'en grand,' but was not broke to the world's little activity; had all the habits and principles of his father's Court worked into his very nature, and no notion of governing his children particularly, except by fear. My mother, on the other hand, was active to excess and enterprising as far as her talents could carry her—one of the most passionate characters I ever met with but good-natured and forgiving when it was over—with a boundless love of power, economical to excess in the most minute particulars, and persevering, by which means she was always sure to gain her ends of my father, who, upon the whole, loved a quiet life.* If it had not been for her

* There is a letter at Holland House to Lord Holland from Lord Kildare, attributing all the faults of the character of Lord Shelburne to his mother.

continual energy, my father would have passed remainder of his life in Ireland, and I might at this time be the chief of some little provincial faction.

In Scotland, I suppose, I saw the last of the feudal lords, like my ancestors, in the person of the last Duke of Douglas. When I was introduced to him at Holyrood House by appointment, he met me at the top of the stairs with his hat and sword. Lord Dunmore, General Scot, the father of Lady Tichfield, and Mr. John Home, the poet, went with me. He spoke occasionally to Lord Dunmore, but not much, and did not open his lips to General Scot. When anything was said about his family he nodded to Mr. John Home to narrate what regarded it. I happened to say something about the Highlands, which I had misapprehended or been misinformed about, at which Lord Dunmore laughed. The Duke drew up and vindicated fully what I had said, signifying by his manner to Lord Dunmore his disapprobation. I told him that I had seen a new house he was building in the Highlands. He said he heard that the Earl of Northumberland was building a house in the north of England, the kitchen of which was as large as his whole house, upon which the Duchess of Douglas, an enterprising woman as may be seen from the famous Douglas cause,* observed that, if the Douglases were to meet

* I conceived such a prejudice upon the sight of the present

the Percys once more in the field, then would the question be, whose kitchen was the largest? Upon this, the Duke nodded to Mr. Home to state some of the great battles in which the Douglas family had distinguished themselves. I told him that I hoped to wait upon him in London. He said he feared not; he could be of no use there; he was not sufficiently informed to carry any weight there; he could neither read nor write without great difficulty. I told him that many of the greatest men in the history of both kingdoms could do neither, to which he assented.

"Under the circumstances I have described, I had no great chance of a very liberal education; no great example before me, no information in my way, except what I might be able to acquire by my own observation or by chance; good-breeding within my own family which made part of the feudal system, but out of it nothing but those uncultivated, undisciplined manners and that vulgarity which make all Irish society so justly odious all over Europe. I must, however, make one illustrious exception to all that has been said within and without my family, in the person of Lady Arabella Denny, to whose virtues, talents, temper, taste, true

Lord Douglas's face and figure that I could not allow myself to vote in this cause. If ever I saw a Frenchman he is one. (Note by Lord Shelburne.)

religion, and goodness of every kind, it is impossible for me to do sufficient justice, any more than to the unspeakable gratitude I owe her. If it was not for her I should have scarce known how to read, write, or articulate, to being able to do which I am indebted, perhaps, for the greatest part of the little reputation I have lived to gain in the House of Lords. It was to her alone I owed any alleviation of the domestic brutality and ill-usage I daily experienced at home. She was the only example I had before me of the two qualities of mind which most adorn and dignify life—amiability and independence. She was married young to a neighbouring gentleman, one of the oldest family among the English-Irish, a very good sort of man, uninformed and ignorant, but who had a brother, Sir — Denny, a coward, a savage, and a fool, who set himself to make her life unhappy. She knew that if she complained, or even told her husband, it would make an irreconcileable breach between the two brothers and therefore she could not reconcile it to her principles. She told me however that, finding she could not endure his brutality, and that her nerves began to fail her, she had recourse to the following stratagem. She determined to learn privately to fire a pistol. When she had practised sufficiently to become a very good shot, she prevailed upon him, without letting him into the secret,

to accompany her to the retired spot where she practised, and showed him how dexterous she had become, telling him at the same time that she suffered so much from his brutality that, if he did not alter his behaviour, she was determined to apply the skill she had obtained by coming behind him, or by the surest means she could invent, his ill-usage having made her regardless as to her own life. After this conversation he immediately changed his manner, and never afterwards gave her the least trouble. It is impossible to form any judgment of her merit in this transaction without having known her feminine manners, character, and figure. She told me that before she had recourse to this stratagem, in a little apothecary's shop which she kept for the benefit of the poor, furnished with shelves, she was obliged to put the laudanum upon the upper shelf, that the motion of going up the step-ladder to get at it, might make her change so desperate a resolution. When her husband died she had too much experience ever to become a slave again, and she refused two or three of the most respectable marriages Ireland afforded. Her husband left her the means of devoting herself to public charities of different kinds, an account of which deserves to be collected for an example to her sex, with all which she mixed a decency, hospitality, and elegance in house and table as well as a variety

of innocent resources. She frequently told me it was all owing to *order*. I am determined if I live a very few years to collect everything I can about her, for her life deserves much better to be examined and recorded than that of Madame de Maintenon or Madame Roland, or even Catherine II. of Russia.

"From the time I was four years old till I was fourteen my education was neglected to the greatest degree. I was first sent to an ordinary publick school. I was then shut up with a private tutor, my father and mother being in England. My tutor was a narrow-minded clergyman of a French refugee family, with no great parts and no great learning, as good-humoured and as good-natured as a narrow mind is capable of being, with a dash of that pertness of character which commonly belongs to the French. There was indeed one advantage which I might have found in his society, and that of his friends and family, which was learning French, for they spoke little else. My father particularly insisted on it, but that very circumstance determined me against it. As I was crossed in everything I was determined to cross in my turn, and succeeded perfectly in this instance, much to my own disadvantage. I loved Lady Arabella Denny because she loved me. She inculcated into me a sense of duty towards God, the publick, and my

neighbours, which has never quitted me. I have somewhere a paper, which my schoolmaster gave me upon leaving him, containing his idea of my character and turn of mind. He was a sensible man; I remember his telling me when he gave me the paper that he saw I was neglected,* and that if I did not take care of my own education I might chance to go without any, which made him write down his observations that I might, if I came to reflect on my situation, apply to more purpose. I remember the turn of the paper was to recommend logick and mathematicks, that my capacity was more calculated for what required strong action than to the more elegant and refined walks of life. To give an idea of the narrow-mindedness of my tutor, I remember being invited to dinner with my father's attorney, who was of a remarkably mean, adulating turn, and used to make me blush with his professions of attachment to my family. I told him I would dine with him upon condition that he did not drink my father's nor mother's health. The old dotard tells this to my stupid tutor. He consults a friend of his, one Colonel Browne, and all three agree that it argued such a determined depravity and wickedness of character that it must not be concealed from my

* Lord Shelburne, down to the end of his life, continued to complain of his neglected education. See Jeremy Bentham's works, x. 186.

father and mother, who were accordingly apprized in great form by letter of this alarming symptom of my disposition and character. To do my father justice he paid no regard to it.

"Soon after fifteen I came to London, where I was suffered to go about, to pick up what acquaintance offered, and in short had no restraint except in the article of money, of which I should not have had sufficient to answer the most common purposes, if it was not for old aunts again and cousins.

* * * * * *

"It is more than a year since I wrote the above.* I am determined not to read it over. If I did I am sure I should be disgusted, and not have resolution to continue anything of the sort. I have dwelt on the manner in which I passed my early years because it cost me more to unlearn the habits, manners, and principles which I then imbibed than would have served to qualify me for any *rôle* whatever through life. I am conscious of the force of several of them to this hour, which I have not been able to root properly out. The only apology I can make is that it was the fault of my parents, not my own; the only atonement is that I have educated my children in a quite different manner, and I am afraid have gone into an opposite extreme, and I have ever unceasingly endeavoured to promote the

* In the margin of the MS. is December 18th, 1801.

liberty of my native country not by vain words but by solid acts; not neglecting inferior considerations such as regarded education, morals, industry, and agriculture. Arrived at the age of sixteen I had nobody to teach me, and everything to learn, of which I was fully aware, but I had what I was not at all aware of, everything to unlearn: no such easy matter.

"At sixteen* I went to Christ Church, where I had again the misfortune to fall under a narrow-minded tutor. He had, however, better parts, and knew more of the world, and I was more independent of him. It has by one or other accident been my fate through life always to fall in with clever but unpopular connections. I begun to see my own situation, and to feel the necessity I was under of repairing lost time. I should mention that my father, before I left London, used to carry me when he made visits, and introduce me to several old people, telling me that they might be dead when I left Oxford, and I might hereafter be glad to have it to say that I had seen them. I saw by this means Lord Chesterfield and Lord Granville, and was wonderfully struck with the difference of their manner. I saw them the same morning, and happening to go to Lord Chesterfield first, and being much struck with his wit and brilliancy and good breeding, I expected

1753.

all the same in Lord Granville, but finding him quite plain and simple in his manner, and something both commanding and captivating, more in his countenance and general manner than in anything he said, I was much at a loss to account for the difference of impression. I never saw either of them afterwards. He likewise carried me to the House of Commons, and I shall never forget the scolding he gave me for not staying to hear Lord North speak a second time, having heard him once, and disliking his manner. My father inferred from it to me that I never could be anybody. Lord North was then rising into reputation as a speaker. The Duke of Newcastle had the appearance of a 'hubble-bubble' man as he himself always described the Irish; Lord Shannon, of a calm sagacious man. The chief thing that struck me was a basket of apples in his room and his not offering me one, but this was before I left Ireland.

"My tutor Mr. Hollwell, was in strong opposition to the Westminsters, always the ruling party at Christ Church. He was not without learning, and certainly laid himself out to be serviceable to me in point of reading. I read with him a good deal of natural law, and the law of nations, some history, part of Livy, and translated some of the Orations of Demosthenes with tolerable care. I read by myself a great deal of religion. Surely it is

natural for a person of the least reflection, if they are taught to believe in the Bible, &c., to be restless till they know the sum of what it contains, and come to some decisive judgment upon a subject so interesting as their future existence and eternal welfare. The certainty of ninety-nine out of a hundred never bestowing a thought upon the subject tells a volume in regard to mankind, and opens a very extraordinary view of the world, accounting for a great deal of otherways unaccountable matter. I was afterwards much struck with Machiavel's Discourses on Livy, Demosthenes, and by the law of nature more than the law of nations. I attended Blackstone's lectures with great care, and profited considerably by them. I got little or no knowledge of the world however. I came full of prejudices. My tutor added to those prejudices by connecting me with the anti-Westminsters, who were far from the most fashionable part of the college, and a small minority.

"Dr. Gregory succeeded Dr. Conybeare,* and was very kind to me, conversed familiarly and frequently with me, had kept good company, was a gentleman, though not a scholar, and gave me notions of people and things, which were afterwards useful to me. I likewise fell into habits with Dr. King, President of St. Mary Hall, a Tory and Jacobite, but a gentleman and an orator. He had a great

* As Dean of Christ Church.

deal of historical knowledge,* and of anecdote, having been intimately connected with the heads of the Tory party from the reign of Queen Anne.†

"I was likewise much connected during all the time I was at college with Mr. Hamilton Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork. As to the rest, the college was very low; a proof of it is, that no one who was there in my time has made much figure either as publick man, or man of letters. The Duke of Portland is the only one I recollect to have his name come before the publick.

"In 1756 the loss of Fort Oswego, of Minorca, together with Byng's defeat, the desperate state of the East Indies, and perhaps more than all, the irresolution and incapacity of those nearest the King, viz., the Duke of Newcastle and his friends, had bred a general panick, which was inflamed by two out of three of the factions then existing.

"Previous however to my giving any further account of myself or of such things as may have

* See his Latin orations, and pamphlet against Dr. Gilbert, Bishop of Sarum, afterwards Archbishop of York, whom he styled always "Plumbeus." He had a silver stand-dish with this inscription "Hoc ex plumbo fit," being purchased by the sale of this pamphlet. See "The Toast," and "Fitzosborne's letters" written by Mr. Melmoth, his son-in-law, and his character there under the name of Mezentius. (Note by Lord Shelburne.)

† Dr. King made a complete renunciation of his Jacobite principles on the accession of George III. Blackstone to Shelburne, 4th August, 1761.

come within my knowledge, I shall give some account of the condition of politics about the time I entered public life.

"It is common to attribute the happiness and comfort which this country enjoyed from the period of the Revolution till the commencement of the present reign, to the excellence of our constitution, to the Whigs, and to a variety of other causes, whereas I conceive the true cause to have been the existence of a Pretender with a very just right to the Throne upon all Tory and monarchical principles and all old prejudices, but without sufficient capacity to disturb the reigning family, or to accommodate himself to the new principles which have been making a slow but certain progress ever since the discovery of the press. Cardinal Wolsey, upon the first discovery of printing, told the clergy to be on their guard, for if they did not destroy the press the press would destroy them. The consequence was that, during the period alluded to, there was a King and no King. Instead of all that fine theory which Montesquieu * and all the admirers of the English constitution suppose, and all the theory of action and reaction, the Hanover family never imagined they would continue, and as their only chance threw themselves into the arms of the old Whigs, abjuring the rights and the manners of Royalty, in other words, telling

* Esprit des Lois, xi. vi.

the people, 'We are your slaves and blackamoors.' Under the Tudors we had been an absolute despotism. The Stewarts wanted to be kings, but under them, before and after the great Rebellion, it was nothing but anarchy and sedition. I have often thought that Cromwell's speeches give a very faithful picture of his time, and am confirmed in it by Lord Hardwicke.

"In the seventeenth century France was, on the whole, systematically and wisely governed with some slight interruptions. Louis XIV. was a King in every sense of the word. He identified himself as few Kings do with the public, with whom he was one and the same. Monsieur de Montyon sent me several original letters which passed between Louis and Colbert and his other Minister, which evidently prove his great economy and that he never let go his authority—a great point. He had great qualities if not great talents. Over-devotion and religious prejudice are to be excused in an old man, and are to be attributed more to the monarchy than to the man, at least more to the combination of both than to the man alone. England, on the other hand, was left in great measure to nature, for the feebleness, the prejudices, and the total incapacity of the Stewarts, did not deserve to be called an administration, and only served to give the popular party time to form itself. Cromwell has never

had justice done him. Hume and almost all the historians have seized upon some prominent circumstances of his character, as painters and actors lay hold of the caricature to ensure a likeness. He was not always a hypocrite. It must be allowed that, while he had power, short as the moment was, he did set more things forward than all the Kings who reigned during the century, King William included. England was never so much respected abroad, while at home, though Cromwell could not settle the Government, talents of every kind began to show themselves, which were immediately crushed or put to sleep at the restoration. The best and most unexceptionable regulations of different kinds are to be found in his ordinances and proclamations remaining to this day unexecuted; and during his life he not only planned, but enforced and executed the greatest measures of which the country was then susceptible. (See his conversations with Ludlow,* particularly about a reform of the law, and his wish to make Ireland a field of experiment, and an example to England.) It requires experience in Government to know the immense distance between planning and executing. All the difficulty is with the last. It requires no small labour to open the eyes of either the public or of individuals, but when that is accomplished, you

* See Ludlow, "Memoirs," vol. i. 319, ed. 1698.

are not got a third of the way. The real difficulty remains in getting people to apply the principles which they have admitted and of which they are now so fully convinced. Then springs the mine composed of private interests and personal animosity. There cannot be a better instance than what is now depending. Professor Adam Smith's principles have remained unanswered for above thirty years,* and yet when it is attempted to act upon any of them, what clamour! If the Emperor Joseph had been content to sow and not to plant, he would have done more good, and saved a great deal of ill. Men require to be bribed into doing good, or permitting it to be done.

"The Revolution brought in William III., a proud sagacious Dutchman. Most men are led by some ruling passion; his was War, and War against the French, for which it is easy to trace a complication of motives. Nothing can be more false and absurd than the enthusiasm entertained for his character, on account of his supposed love of liberty. He saw too much of it in Holland, where, by his plans for undermining it and by his ambition, he sowed the seeds of a great deal of the confusion and corruption which put an end to the Government of that ill-used country. When Parliament sent away his Dutch Guards, he said,

* Written in 1801.

if he had had children or any posterity, he would not have suffered it. I cannot trace a single act of inferior regulation that we owe to him, which did not immediately gratify his ambition. The history of his favourites is scandalous, none of the families which he brought over with him, have proved either an ornament, or a service to this country, Bentincks, Nassaus, Kepples, &c.—Admiral Kepple was no exception. The grants he gave them were enormous, indiscreet, unjust, and unmerited. If he had divided the Irish forfeitures, which Parliament luckily stopped him from heaping on his Dutch favourites, among the French Protestants, he would have insured the tranquillity of Ireland for evermore, and promoted the wealth and industry of both Kingdoms. He came to this country as he would come to a campaign, to answer his political purposes in the first instance; and, in the next, to provide for his followers. His sagacity proved itself on all occasions.

"The Revolution produced a still greater real than apparent change in Government opinion and manners. See Cibber's life, which, though an idle book, is interesting. He says, for some time before the Revolution, it was in the mouth of everybody that there would be a Revolution, but nobody knew how it would be effected. King William made a barbarous use of the Duke of Monmouth.

King James says that he was not his brother's son, but his picture at Bowood says he was.

"Queen Mary and Queen Anne were both feminine characters. I take Queen Mary to have had most sense and most force of the two. She made the best of wives to a saturnine, disagreeable husband, to say no worse of him. Queen Anne's reign was in fact the reign of the Duke of Marlborough, owing to the ascendant which the Duchess of Marlborough had acquired over the Queen, which she abused abominably, as well as that she had over her husband. She was a most extraordinary person, but like most women ran wild with the habits of power, having nobody to control her. She used to say that it was not fear of the Devil that kept her out of a line of intrigue, but she was determined to be in no man's power. After power, avarice appears to have been her ruling passion. Mr. Bryan, who was tutor to the present Duke of Marlborough, a man of great accuracy as well as worth, told me that he found among the papers at Blenheim proof of a transaction which at once illustrates the character of the Duke and Duchess: a very old friend of the Duke's youth, after having lost sight of him by some accident for a number of years, presented himself to him when commanding the army in Flanders and was very cordially received. The Duke asked him what he could do to serve

him. He said a Majority or Lieutenant-Colonelcy of Horse, I forget which, would satisfy all his ambition, of which the Duke assuring him, sent him with letters, which made him think himself sure of his object, but finding the business to train,* it was a long time before he could give credit to the Duchess of Marlborough being the person who retarded his promotion. As soon, however, as he was able to ascertain it, he returned to Flanders to the Duke, who prevented his speaking by telling him that he knew what he had to say, and said the shortest way was to give a sum of money, two or three thousand pounds, telling him how it might find its way to the Duchess, which would put an end to all difficulties; and so it did. Mrs. Lloyd told me that, looking over the papers at Blenheim, all the Duke's letters were full of his wishes to retire, and that he might pass the rest of his days in peace and quiet; not so his Duchess. Lord Bolingbroke† said, when he waited on the Duke of Marlborough sometimes before he was up, he used to be found sitting in the window in a thin linen gown put on carelessly and, without seeming to attend, would hit off a point which had taken them a long time to discuss; but the worst of it was they never heard of anything else the whole day after. The French have always denied the

* A Gallicism, "trainer."

† When Secretary at War.

Duke of Marlborough's military talents, though he always beat them. The Duke of Argyle said that he had general talents (like William Murray, Lord Mansfield), which would have enabled him to make pretty much the same figure in whatever line he adopted. He was most undoubtedly an excessively wise man, with wonderful command of temper, and uncommon sagacity, a master of intrigue, but no literature whatever. When Lord Oxford was sent to the Tower, the Duke of Berwick, who had owed him some obligation, sent to know whether he could do anything to serve him, and in the meantime sent him an original letter from the Duke of Marlborough to the Pretender for him to make any use of he thought proper. Lord Oxford asked his counsel. Serjeant Cummins, whether it could be of any; he said: 'A great deal; I would advise your Lordship to send your son, Lord Harley, with it to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, but as I have known such things sometimes snatched and tore up, I would keep the original, and send only an exact copy.' Lord Harley waited accordingly on the Duke of Marlborough, saying that he waited on his Grace by his father's directions with it, and nothing more. The Duke read it attentively, and said 'My Lord, this is not my hand.' Lord Harley said: 'My father has the original;' upon which civil bows passed without a word more, but the prosecution in a few

weeks after was dropped. In 1716, when the Duke of Marlborough was in a state of dotage, and the country was in a state of general panic under the apprehension of a sudden invasion, the Court sent to ask his advice. They found him with all the appearance of a driveller in an armed chair; all that they could get him to say was: 'Keep the army together; don't divide it.'

"The last four years of Queen Anne passed in divisions and faction fighting between Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke. It was impossible that they should ever agree. They were both men devoted to ambition, one was all surface; the other, Oxford, all substance; Oxford a Whig, Bolingbroke a Tory; and different in ages, which encouraged Bolingbroke to attack Oxford, though I imagine much his inferior in point of courage. The fact was that Bolingbroke was both a political and personal coward. Mr. Pitt has told me that a relation of his, Mr. Cholmondley, of Vale Royal in Cheshire, upon the death of Queen Anne, came from the country in his boots to Lord Bolingbroke and asked him, 'Well, my Lord, what is to be done?' but he found him quite palsied. Bishop Atterbury urged the party as strongly as possible to proclaim the Pretender, they asked him who would venture to do it, he said: 'I will send for my lawn sleeves this instant, and do it on horseback at Charing Cross if you will support

me.' Lord Oxford, on the other hand, was sincerely well disposed to the Hanover succession. (See their letters to him, and see what faith is to be put in Princes.) I have been told by some of the old people that when Lord Oxford came into the House of Lords after the accession of George I. and his consequent disgrace, every Peer left the side bench where he placed himself, and the Prince of Wales went alone and placed himself next him with a great German hat, looking at him in a bullying attitude, to the great satisfaction of the House. Sir Eardley Wilmot has told me that his father, a very sensible man, was High Sheriff of Derbyshire the year of the Revolution, and that the people were ten to one against the Revolution. The Church to a man was violently active against the House of Hanover. The old Lord Ilchester told me that, for a long time after the accession, cannon were obliged to be kept at Whitehall to keep the mob in order and to protect the King from the Park to Westminster. An old Mr. Mildmay, whose epitaph may be seen, written by himself, at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, told me that he returned a young man from abroad, and inquiring for his father found that he was at dinner at the King's Arms with Lord Bolingbroke and the party, where he went and had all manner of questions put to him about Hanover, which he answered so much to their satisfaction that Lord Bolingbroke took him

aside when the company were breaking up, and said to him: 'Young man, you appear a smart young man; if you will enlist with me I will do the best I can for you, I think I have the best end of the staff.' He made him afterwards his secretary, and sent him on a famous affronting message to Lord Oxford, which he was to deliver to him at his full levée at the cock-pit, for which his tall thin figure, and petulant address was admirably calculated, but it failed of his object.

"It would be worth examining how it was possible under such circumstances for the Whigs to maintain their ground. The Queen was undoubtedly disposed to favour a second restoration, but however she may have loved her family, she loved herself more, and was afraid of risking her own power while she lived. Much is to be laid to the account of the character of the deposed family, who were from the beginning to the end a most infatuated race.

"The foreign affairs during this period and till after the Peace of Utrecht, have been fully laid open in a variety of memoirs and collections of different sorts, French and English, which only serve to prove the ignorance of all. Kingdoms, principalities, islands, were handed from one Power to another, with far less examination than a private estate is bought or sold. The people were as little consulted as

the sheep or the oxen which pass from one landed proprietor to another, indeed, much less considered; for, in the one case, they are counted and valued, but in the other, they are thrown in as a make-weight into one or other scale, without the least examination or regard to their inclinations or separate interests, and their *good* never appears. Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, were tossed from one hand to another as were also principal cities, but of all the foreign transactions in which this country was ever engaged, see what regards Lorraine.* Lord Bolingbroke's letters, lately published, show how little real knowledge he had under that imposing style, and what Alderman Beckford used to call that diarrhœa of words. How much influence it has always had, and how little it ought to have. Compare the letters of Lord Strafford, and Lord Bolingbroke: what a difference!

"The character of the Hanover family necessarily makes the ground-work of the history of the times, for nothing can be more mistaken than the common notion that Kings are ciphers and indolent. See the private history of Louis XIV., XV., and XVI. Indolence, when it is not the result of weakness

* The allusion is here more particularly to the Treaty of Vienna, 1735, which, through English mediation, ended the war of the Polish succession. Lorraine was given to Stanislas Lezcinski, the dethroned King of Poland, for life, and the reversion was vested in France. The Duke of Lorraine was compensated with the succession to Tuscany.

or vice, is a very great virtue, especially in Kings. It requires a very strong mind to forbear meddling, and not only a very good head, but a very good heart also; an union which falls to the lot of few to govern active habits. It will be seen in the history of the time, 'quam parvâ sapientiâ regitur mundus,' at least with how little wisdom England was governed during the reigns of George I. and George II., how the seeds were sown of all that has happened since, with the commencement and progress of a system of corruption which must sink from under us after rotting the national character, and all the bulwarks of the constitution. In the meantime the country enjoyed fifty years of unexampled prosperity. Commerce increased as rapidly as could be desired; property was secure under a steady administration of justice, subject to no changes of principles; and population increased as the course of nature rendered indispensable; liberty was untouched; the public morals were kept within due bounds; and order generally prevailed. Foreigners attribute all this to the English Constitution, which in fact was owing to the single circumstance of a Pretender, who kept the reigning family in perpetual awe, supported as they were by an immense body of property among the Tories, a considerable party among the Lords and Commons, Scotland almost entirely devoted to them, and a

great part of Ireland by means of the Catholics. This obliged the Hanover family not only to be upon their guard, but to support revolution doctrines and principles, upon which ground they stood. I have heard old people of good authority say that Lord Sunderland, who was the most intriguing man that ever existed after his father —whether he was as corrupt or quite so bad a man as his father, I cannot tell—first got the Court after the accession and formed the leading party, consisting of the Craggs, Lord Carteret, the Stanhopes, Lord Macclesfield, and others. Lord Sunderland was not only the most intriguing but the most passionate man of his time. In making up one of his administrations, it was recommended to him to nominate Sir James Lowther one of his Treasury, on account of his great property. He appointed him one morning to come to Marlborough House; the morning was bad; nobody came into Lord Sunderland, who at last rung his bell to know whether Sir James Lowther had been there. The servants answered that nobody had called; upon his repeating the inquiry the servants said that there was an old man, somewhat wet, sitting by the fire-side in the hall, who they supposed had some petition to deliver to his Lordship. When he went out, it proved to be Sir James Lowther. Lord Sunderland desired

him to be sent about his business, saying that no such mean fellow should sit at his Treasury. Henry, Lord Holland, speaking of those times, said he asked Sir Robert Walpole why he never came to an understanding with Lord Sunderland. He answered, 'You little know Lord Sunderland. If I had so much as hinted at it, his temper was so violent, that he would have done his best to throw me out of the window.'

"After the revolution the Tory and Jacobite parties had become almost identified by their together opposing the Court for so many years, and still more by the persecution which they suffered in common, for it was the policy of Sir Robert Walpole to confound them as much as possible, so as to throw the Jacobite odium upon every man who opposed government. Dr. King was one of the chief Jacobites. His most famous exploit was when, in 1754, in his speech upon opening the Ratcliffe Library at Oxford, before a full theatre he introduced three times the word 'Redeat,' pausing each time for a considerable space, during which the most unbounded applause shook the theatre, which was filled with a vast body of Peers, members of Parliament, and men of property. Before this, and soon after the rebellion, Dr. King, speaking of the Duke of Cumberland, described him as a man, 'qui timet omnia præter Deum.' I

presented this same Dr. King to George III. in 1760.

"Lord Melcombe told me several things about Sir Robert Walpole. He said he was inconceivably coarse and low mannered. He gave me an instance. When he went down with Sir Robert Walpole, which he frequently did, to Houghton, they were obliged to pass a bad common and were more than once benighted on it, which made him represent to Sir Robert how becoming it would be and how suitable to his rank to have flambeaux ready for such occasions. Sir Robert said he would give orders accordingly. The first time the circumstance occurred again, Lord Melcombe reminded Sir Robert Walpole. He stopped the coach and enquired of the servants for the *links*. They said they were in the coach; he then obliged them both to get out in a cold dark night, but the links he obtained were some links of sausages. Such was the vulgarity of Sir Robert's diction and habits that he used the phraseology of Drury Lane and Covent Garden, and called the lights *links*, which the stupidity of the servants interpreted 'links of sausages.' Everybody agrees that he was coarse in his conversation, particularly about women, scouting all sentiment and sentimental love. He was, however, their slave in his turn. When some of his friends were going to tell him some infidelity of Mrs. ——, he stopped their mouths

by saying that he wished to hear nothing of the sort: she was indispensable to his happiness. He was not at all so to hers. Seeing Mr. Fox reading in the library of Houghton, he said: 'You can read. It is a great happiness. I totally neglected it while I was in business, which has been the whole of my life, and to such a degree that I cannot now read a page—a warning to all Ministers.' Sir Edward Bayntun was the successful candidate at Chippenham, and, according to the prejudices of the times decided the fate of that Ministry.* Lord Melcombe said that, in one of the jumbles of a division in the House of Commons, he happened to find himself near to Sir Robert, who told him: 'Young man, I will tell you the history of all your friends as they come in, one by one. Such an one, I saved his brother from being hanged; such another, from starving; such another, I advanced both his sons,' &c., in short, a history of perfidy and ingratitude—the experience of twenty years of power. By all that I have been able to learn Sir Robert Walpole was, out of sight, the ablest man of his time and the most capable. His letters about Wood's halfpence do him great honour. More critical times might have produced an abler man, and there is no doubt that many faults may be found in his manners and character, but comparing him with all the other men who presented themselves as

* In 1742.

candidates for power, he was the first, and most calculated to carry on the mode of Government adopted by the Hanover family of King and no King or the House of Commons for ever.

"I ought to be partial to one of his rivals, if not his principal rival—the House of Commons apart—Lord Carteret, whose daughter I afterwards married. He was a fine person, of commanding beauty, the best Greek scholar of the age, overflowing with wit, not so much a *diseur de bons-mots*, like Lord Chesterfield, as a man of true, comprehensive ready wit, which at once saw to the bottom, and whose imagination never failed him, and was joined to great natural elegance. He had a species of oratory more calculated for the Senate than the people. He was a *bon-vivant* and kept a large, plain, hospitable table. He said that such a man was a stupid man, but an admirable hearer. He said his house was the neutral port of the Finchs,* who carried on the conversation by each of them addressing him and never each other. He said, when all his other stories failed him, Ireland was a constant resource. During his stay there as Lord Lieutenant,† there was no end of the ridicule with which it supplied him. Both he and Sir Robert Walpole were above money, particularly the former.

* The family of the Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham.

† Lord Carteret became Lord Lieutenant in 1724.

Lord Carteret was more careless than extravagant. When his daughter Lady Georgina was going to be married to Mr. Spencer, much against the inclination of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough—with whom he had been in great favour, but had lost it on some political account—he suffered the day to be fixed for signing the settlements and solemnizing the marriage without any thought how he was to pay her fortune. His family, knowing that he had not the money, was under vast uneasiness as the day approached, and as far as they could venture, reminded him of it to no purpose, till the very day before Sir — Worsley, Lady Carteret's father, came to him, and speaking of the marriage, said he hoped he was prepared with Lady Georgina's fortune, because he knew the Duchess of Marlborough's violence and her aversion to the marriage. He said undoubtedly that it could not be supposed that he was unprepared. 'Because if you are,' says Sir — Worsley, 'I have £5000 at my bankers, with which I can accommodate you.' He said: 'Can you really! If so, I shall be much obliged to you, for to say the truth, I have not a hundred pounds towards it." At one time he had an execution in his house, brought by a coal merchant to whom he owed £2000. His coach, &c., was stopped. As soon as it was taken off, he saw a man in the hall

whose face he did not recollect. It was the merchant. He went up to him, made a very gracious bow, and the man served him to the day of his death.

"He died at Bath, previous to which he was delirious, and imagined himself in the other world, where, meeting an old clerk of the House of Commons, he gave him an account of all that had happened in the interval between their deaths with infinite wit, accuracy, and humour, insomuch that it was a pity it was not taken down. The worst check he met with in his political career, was the death of Lord Sunderland,* to whom he had entirely devoted himself. The next was the death of Mr. Craggs.† His death left Sir Robert Walpole master of the field, at least for some years. If their deaths had not taken place there is no saying what might have happened. Lord Sunderland always had the Court and the Germans with him. The Craggs, father and son, were remarkable men. Old Mr. Craggs used to say it was as rare to meet with men perfectly wicked as to meet with men perfectly honest or perfectly able, but that he was one. Once when he was entrusted with Lord Sunderland's interests while the latter attended the King to Hanover, Walpole

* In 1722.

† In 1721. His father took poison in the same year, a few weeks later.

and his party got hold of some story very much against Lord Sunderland, which it was impossible to counteract by any common means. Old Craggs sent to Sir Robert Walpole to see him and acknowledged the fact, but told him if the least use was attempted to be made of it, he would that moment go before the Lord Mayor and swear that he, Walpole, had a conversation with the Pretender. Walpole said it was a gross falsehood. Craggs said that might be, but he would swear it, and accompany it with such circumstances as would make it believed, and that Walpole knew he was able and capable of it. His son had been ill-educated, but applied himself with wonderful diligence after he came of age to repair his want of education, and employed different people to make collections and abstracts for him upon different subjects. Still, even if both Lord Sunderland and the Craggs had lived, I do not imagine it would have made much difference; it might have occasioned more intrigue both within and without doors and some short struggle, but the Walpoles must have got the better in the end, especially upon the plan which the Court had adopted, perhaps necessarily, of governing by the House of Commons, for which Sir Robert was eminently qualified by the plainness and soundness of his understanding, his steadiness, experience, and country conviviality, and his merits which stood

very high among the Whigs at the latter end of the Queen's reign. He was just the opposite of the Duke of Newcastle. He thought for himself, had no such people as Stone, William Murray, &c., to think for him. Instead of Mr. Stone doing his business and he Mr. Stone's, he did nobody's business, nor suffered anybody to do his. At his levée when he was applied to about revenue matters, he used to say, 'Convince Lowndes,* and I have no objection." He confined the Secretaries of the Treasury to the official business, and did not suffer them ever to meddle with the higher lines, or the Cabinet, or the House of Commons. One of the most bustling members of the House of Commons who was always supposed to have a private pension, had nothing more than the privilege of breakfasting with his *valet de chambre.* He was of a perfectly even temper, and the most good natured man living. Once he lost his temper at a Council, but he broke up the Council immediately after, saying no man was fit for business with a ruffled temper. When George I. died, he waited on George II. to acquaint him, who desired him to go to Sir Spencer Compton to congratulate him, and to assure him of his cordial support, taking it for granted that he would be called up to the House of Lords and have one of the White Staffs, which was

* Secretary to the Treasury.

all that he expected. Sir Spencer Compton, who was a dull heavy man, made no answer, except that he believed that it was usual for a King on his accession to say a few words to the Council, and wished Walpole to consider it. He immediately began to see daylight, and proposed a meeting at Devonshire House, and when there a small committee to draw up what should be said. It quickly returned with a paper approving all that Walpole's administration had done. Lord Bute told me that, apprized of this, he had lying by him, for several years before George II. died, a declaration to put into the present King's hands, who proposed it to the Cabinet, where Mr. Pitt, expressing great admiration of the language, desired leave to object to only two words, 'bloody and expensive' war, in the place of which he proposed inserting, 'just and necessary.' I have seen hundreds of instances where a want of habit of committing your thoughts to paper off hand, or of what is called 'composition' at the Secretary of State's office, has produced the most serious consequences. It opens the door to all *commis,* whose necessary impudence sticks at nothing, who, once consulted, quickly find the weakness of their principals, whose modesty suppresses and conceals even from themselves their own powers which are generally far superior. Presence of mind again is a gift with which everybody is not endowed. If Lord Bute had bestowed

his time on thinking what measures he should pursue whenever the event happened, instead of the composition of what he should say, he would have abided by the words 'bloody and expensive,' by which means he would have got the wind of Mr. Pitt by fair and noble means, for nothing could be more prepared than the public was, but it has seldom happened that those who come in by the back ever after prefer the great stairs. Sir Robert Walpole finding that he had so far succeeded beyond his expectations, next turned his thoughts to the Queen, with whom Sir Spencer Compton had had some difference of opinion, and had disappointed about her establishment. The Queen imagined, because the King said so, she had no influence upon him, a common error when ladies are concerned. Sir Robert Walpole promised her everything she desired, and by that means gained her cordial support, which he steadily enjoyed to the day of her death,* when his positive influence on the King died also. Lord Melcombe's unsteadiness of temper made him the first to quit his friend Sir Robert Walpole, and so little did he know of what was going forward that the day before Sir Robert Walpole was declared Minister, he asked somebody whether Walpole was staying to be kicked out. The same thing nearly happened to him at the end

* In 1737.

of his life. It may be seen by his diary, that he was among the last to discover Lord Bute's influence, notwithstanding his access to Leicester House, and that he appears to have had nothing else to think about except the politicks of that House.

"Mr. Pulteney, afterwards Earl of Bath, was the House of Commons rival of Sir Robert Walpole. He was by all accounts the greatest House of Commons orator that had ever appeared. He had a sharp cutting wit, both in and out of the House, was an elegant scholar, avaricious in the most supreme degree, as was his father before him (his wife the same), vindictive, torn with little passions, unequal and uneven, sometimes in very high and sometimes in very low spirits, and full of little enmities. Examine his long opposition, and it will be seen he never did any good nor attempted any. His great occupation was to raise the mob in order to turn out Sir Robert Walpole. He not only did no good but he did a great deal of mischief by dint of clamour and abuse. Never was faction carried such lengths.

"I have heard Alderman Beckford say that he was a young man, and a very active instrument in and out of doors. Among other things he was concerned in bringing the famous Jenkins to the bar of the House of Commons in 1738, to prove the cruelty of the Spaniards on the coast of America. This man pretended to have had his ears cut off

by the Spaniards. Alderman Beckford has frequently assured me that if any Member had had the fancy to have lifted up his wig, they would have found his ears as whole as their own. At last, the violence of the clamour out of doors, the treachery of Sir Robert's old friends, his loss in the Queen, the King's indifference if not timidity (who thought of nothing but Germany), the activity of young men who were getting up in various lines, and who naturally pushed out the old ones, all put together obliged Sir Robert to resign. The town was taken. All was anarchy and confusion. Places and Pensions, as always happen, lay at the bottom of all that passed, the distribution of which requires no extraordinary capacity, and consequently lets in everybody into consultations, where the greatest fool has as much to say as the wisest man of the party and often more. There was little or no principle anywhere, and very little real grievance to be complained of except Hanover and the German influence, which nobody, however bold in the height of opposition, cared to touch, when every man thought himself upon the eve of having something, and consequently did not care to make himself personally odious at Court. I asked Lord Bath once, why more was not done for the public, upon which he flew into a degree of passion, and said there was

no comprehending or describing the confusion that prevailed; that he lost his head, and was obliged to go out of town for three or four days to keep his senses, which I well remembering, was upon my guard when I found myself in somewhat of a similar situation in 1782. One day, some time after the House of Lords was up and the House empty, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Pulteney were observed to have a long and warm conversation, which ended for that time, by Mr. Pulteney's going away in a great passion, and the others following him. One of the Clerks soon after perceived a paper torn into several pieces where they had been standing, which he was at the pains of putting together, and found it was the King's letter creating Mr. Pulteney Earl of Bath, to which however he was at last reconciled, and other arrangements soon followed more upon the principle of a borough Election than that of a Monarchy limited or unlimited. The terms obtained for the public only serve to shew how very narrow and short sighted were the views of all. The Court and the Public, however, continued to be tossed about for some years till such time as the Pelhams, with the assistance of the old Whig connections, their own rank, and considerable property, generosity, and hospitality, great deference to the public, more than any sort of talent, got the

acknowledged ascendant. The King put himself into the hands of Lord Granville,* who had full powers for a moment,† but the Whigs, at the instigation of the Pelhams, signed a round-robin against him, and the King did not choose to try the experiments which his Grandson is about, nor was that time by any means ripe, I believe, for them, though Lord Granville thought otherwise. It was generally supposed that the King had a decided preference for him,‡ but I have very good reason to believe that it went no further than liking his conversation better than that of the other Ministers, on account of his knowing more of foreign affairs and because having been in Lord Sunderland's school, he was naturally inclined to the Germans. §

"During the first twenty years of George II.‖ there were three parties, first, the old Whigs, who

* Lord Carteret became Lord Granville in 1744, and was expelled from the Ministry the same year.

† In 1746, during the rebellion.

‡ Lord Hervey offered to support Lord Granville with all Sir R. Walpole's friends. Mr. Winnington the same, but the discordant temper of Lord Bath interfered, whose meanness and revenge always equalled his irresolution. (Note by Lord Shelburne.)

§ Lord Granville always said that it was Lord Bath ruined everything, and it was true, for all Sir R. Walpole's friends hated the Pelhams and would have supported Lord Granville, but he would not quit Lord Bath whose head perpetually went wrong. See Sir C. H. Williams' verses. (Note by Lord Shelburne.)

‖ 1727–1747.

entirely composed the administration; secondly, the discontented Whigs, who one after another quarrelled with Sir Robert Walpole and the main body; thirdly, the Tories, to whose character and principles sufficient justice has not been done owing to the never-ceasing outcry of Ministers in confounding them with the Jacobites, but, in fact, they were the landed interest of England who desired to see an honourable, dignified government conducted with order and due economy and due subordination, in opposition to the Whigs who courted the mob in the first instance, and in the next the commercial interest. The Tories, being men of property and precluded from all degree of Court favour since Queen Anne's time, lived upon their estates, never went to London but to attend Parliament, and that for a short time, while the Whigs surrounded the Court, governed the two Kingdoms, knew confidentially all that passed at home and abroad, were in the secret of everything, and provided for younger brothers, cousins, nephews and dependents, whose wits were sharpened by their advancement. The Jacobites were, in fact, quite a distinct party, which likewise had its sub-divisions, consisting of men of great rank, great property, and great numbers. The Duke of Beaufort was at the head of what was called the 'Remitters,' who remitted annually large sums to the Pretender till the party

was finally broken up. All Scotland was enthusiastically devoted to the exiled family, with a very few exceptions. In 1756 going through the country as a traveller, I heard many of them, sober as well as drunk, avow it in the most unreserved manner.

"The House of Commons in those days must have been very different from what it has become in our times, for we see all the distinguished men, Oxford, Bolingbroke, and others, seeking to be advanced to the Peerage instead of considering it as a retirement.* Sir Robert Walpole raised it not only by talents which were particularly adapted to it, but by using it as one of the best instruments of the false government, adopted at the accession of the House of Hanover, and persevered in during the reigns of George I. and George II.

"The diary of Lord Melcombe gives not only a very just idea of the manner of carrying on the Government of England during his own time, but of the English Government for a long time to come, in short, till some public event alters the ordinary course of things, allowing for the difference between a quiet Court whose only object was to get through, and such an active and numerous royal family as the present.

* This was not the opinion of Sir Robert Walpole. Dr. King, in his Anecdotes of his own time, tells the story how the first time Lord Oxford met Lord Bute in the House of Lords, he said to him: "Here we are, my Lord, the two most insignificant fellows in England."

"As to the manners of that time, an old servant at Whetham, near Bowood, told me that when her master went up to Parliament, her mistress used to go up to a small farm-house within a quarter of a mile, to stay till Mr. Earnley, her master, came back, and the great house was meanwhile shut up, though no very large one now, notwithstanding that it is considerably enlarged since that time, the beginning of the reign of George II.

"Lady Shrewsbury was the first who, in Queen Anne's time, began card parties in a small house, which belonged afterwards to General Conway, and now to the Prince.*

"In my time, at Devizes, when families visited each other, the men were shown upstairs to the men, the women to the women. The men immediately sat down to wine or beer, and when they had done sent to tell the women. Several of the best gentlemen, members for the county, drunk nothing but beer.

"The removal of Lord Granville left the field open for the Pelhams, who had always betrayed Sir Robert Walpole,† and had every talent for obtaining Ministry, none for governing the kingdom, except decency, integrity, and Whig principles.

* Afterwards George IV. The autobiography was written in 1800–1801.

† Vide Lord Hervey's Diary. (Note by Lord Shelburne.)

Their forte was cunning plausibility, and cultivation of mankind; they knew all the allures of the Court; they were in the habits of administration; they had been long keeping a party together. The Duke of Newcastle had sacrificed a part of one of the best estates in the kingdom to this object, and was ready to sacrifice the rest. Mr. Pelham had still more plausible manners than his brother, who rather cajoled than imposed on mankind,* passing for a man of less understanding than he was. Mr. Pelham stood first of any description in the House of Commons now Mr. Pulteney was gone, both in point of rank, family, age, office, and, above all, for a character of moderation which procured him many friends, and kept off many enemies, which are mostly created by high pretensions and superiority of manner.

"It is difficult enough to conceive how the war of 1741 was blundered through or how the nation submitted to hiring and paying such numbers of foreign troops, and subsidizing so many German Princes, with such an occurrence as the rebellion of 1745. The whole terminated by a Peace,† which paid no regard whatever to the commercial grievances which were the subject of so much clamour as to occasion the

* See Sir Robert Walpole's letter about Ireland to the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Townsend. (Note by Lord Shelburne.)

† The peace of Aachen, 1748.

war and the downfall of Sir Robert Walpole, but agreed to deliver up Maestricht for the glory of the French arms, though it was to be redelivered to the Dutch, that Great Britain was to deliver up Cape Breton and all conquests made in the East and West Indies, and that two noblemen were to be sent as hostages until the restitution was completed; but the right of English subjects to navigate the American seas without being subject to search was left to commissaries, nor were the limits of Acadia ascertained. All the nation gained by Mr. Pulteney's long opposition was a Place Bill, and all they gained by the war was expense and incessant disgrace. Except Dettingen,* there were as many defeats as battles on the continent.† The war appears to have been much better carried on for England during the first years by Sir Robert Walpole. What is remarkable is, that Admiral Vernon in opposition declared he could take Portobello. The Ministry employed him and he took it.‡

"Sir Robert Walpole having been everything for so many years, Mr. Pulteney being nothing and Lord Granville being got rid of, a gap was left which Mr. Pelham very naturally filled for some years,

* 1743.

† Fontenoy, Rocoux, and Laffeld, in 1745, 1746, and 1747, respectively.

‡ 1742.

long enough to tempt such talents and ambition as existed among the younger part of both houses, to look forward. He lived just long enough for the purpose, and died * just in time to save himself the misery of fighting battles to which he was unequal, and the disgrace of retiring wounded and marked.

"Immediately upon his death three parties made their appearance, and there happened to be just as many courts. The Duke of Newcastle's party of course, remained out of all comparison the most numerous, the most powerful and dignified. They were besides in possession. But Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt had risen to great consideration; the one educated under Sir Robert Walpole and brought up in all the principles of that school, or rather in a still worse, that of Lord Hervey and Mr. Winnington, men remarkable for their profligacy, their debauchery —which was supposed to exceed the common bounds—and their total contempt and disregard of all principle; they were supposed to have given Sir Robert Walpole great trouble before they quitted by their unreasonable pretensions and interested demands. The other, Mr. Pitt, was bred in the Opposition and more particularly in Lord Cobham's House, which was a school which commonly went by the name of Cobham's cubs, consisting of Pitt, Lyttleton, and the Grenvilles, to which many men of promising talents

attached themselves, such as Mr. Potter, Wilkes, &c.—Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox were just begun to be balanced and played against each other by Mr. Pelham, of whom they both agreed to me in one character, and gave several instances of the cunning and duplicity of the two brothers which I cannot recollect. Mr. Pitt told me that Mr. Pelham used to send for him when they quarrelled, which they perpetually did, to negociate between them and went so far as to press him to be Secretary of State, in the room of his brother without the smallest meaning or sincerity whatever.* Upon Mr. Pelham's death the Duke of Newcastle brought Mr. Pitt into parliament,† and there exists a letter of his to this day among the family papers containing some very strong professions of attachment, to which he did not pay much regard afterwards.‡ Mr. Fox was not wanting in his cant likewise, but, finding probably that they could not govern, could not resist the temptation of joining to attack the Castle of Whiggism. The Duke of Newcastle was obliged to collect all the second people he could and to have recourse to the professions, who furnished him with two very remarkable men, in the instances of Lord Hardwicke and Lord Mans-

* See the letters in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 31–54.

† For the borough of Aldborough in Yorkshire.

‡ This is probably the letter given at vol. i. p. 85, of the Chatham Correspondence.

field. Unluckily, however, he not only wanted aid in the House of Commons but in the Cabinet too. He had no resolution nor mind of his own.

"There was an old man in the Secretary of State's office, Mr. Morin, who was clerk in the Duke of Newcastle's time and appointed to attend at his house. He told me that it was a great pity that the Duke of Newcastle should do Mr. Stone's business and Mr. Stone the Duke of Newcastle's; that he used to attend at Newcastle House till twelve at night doing nothing, and then the Duke would sit down to write despatches and cut out work for him to copy the whole night. The Duke of Newcastle once showed Sir Robert Walpole a despatch. Sir Robert said it was incomparably drawn, and had but one fault, which was that nothing should be wrote at all. Lord Chesterfield used to say of him that he lost an hour in the morning and was all the day looking after it. Besides writing he had a vast dexterity in distributing places, promising and afterwards keeping or breaking his word as he found it convenient. Lord Holland (Mr. Fox) told me that he had occasion to reprove him about his not keeping a promise he had made of some piece of preferment; the Duke of Newcastle acknowledged the truth of what Mr. Fox said, but alleged that he had resigned since, which put an end to all previous promises:

he had been out only a few days. He was in truth governed in all matters of judgment by a set of intriguers, the principal of which were Mr. Murray the present Lord Mansfield, Mr. Stone his secretary, Dr. Markham, the present Archbishop of York, and some others of the same stamp. They took advantage of his good nature, his love of bustle, etc., and left the detail of business to him, which he mistook, as many men are apt to do, for real business, while they were taken up in adapting all the great interests of the kingdom to their own little interests, and to keeping the power of everything and the government within their own circle. Out of this school came the famous or rather infamous Lord George Sackville,* who begun a career, every step of which was marked with infamy, by embroiling Ireland, where, in conjunction with Dr. Stone, the Primate, he begun plans, which neither of them had courage or sense to carry through, and laid the foundation of all that has since happened in that country. It is easy to conceive that such a set could not suffer, without a very jealous eye, such men as either Mr. Fox or Mr. Pitt to come about the Duke of Newcastle, nor could they from their situation play them one against the other like Mr. Pelham, while the Duke of Newcastle's inefficiency tempted the

* See page 341 for the character of Lord George Sackville by Lord Shelburne.

ambition of both to aspire at the whole. Mr. Fox besides had found means to obtain the favour and confidence of the Duke of Cumberland. The King's known predilection for His Royal Highness, the Duke's own dignity, force of character, the great appanage voted him by parliament after the Battle of Culloden, his connections among the nobility, whom he cultivated with a great spirit of magnificence and condescension, his contempt of money and well judged generosity upon many occasions, his numberless military dependents (having been so long Commander-in-chief with powers which knew no limits), made him since the death of the Prince * the object of every one's attention: while the greatness of his situation and his known implacability of temper covered his severity, which approached to brutality wherever his power extended, by preventing the poor victims of his passion from complaining or, if they did complain, from being heard. His connections among the nobility covered his bad choice of favourites among the army, and the dignity of his deportment made it difficult for the mass of mankind to comprehend an unfortunate disposition which he had to encourage the lowest tattling, and to rejoice in every little ridicule or slander which could be cast on any officer. Mr. Fox avowed himself, and was

avowed, as his Minister; he canvassed members of Parliament in the Duke's name; he promised or threatened in the same, and upon all occasions was ready to interfere and intercede with the Duke, when his passions led him, as they often did, to acts of severity and not unfrequent injustice upon the suggestions of Lord Albemarle and a string of ill-natured smooth sycophants, who made the conversation of the Duke's table even when commanding, consist of a perpetual persifflage, which in the army went by the name of 'Cherry Cobbin.' This connection of Mr. Fox's, however, could not fail of giving great cause of jealousy to Mr. Pitt, his rival, though his ally. Various circumstances inflamed it, and made it easy for another Court, namely that of the Princess Dowager, to break the new alliance. The Princess had since the death of the Prince lived in retirement. She was neglected by the King, but her children were left under her management. It seems to have been her fate through life to have been neglected and undervalued, and under cover of that neglect, to have compassed all her points and obtained more power than would fall to the lot even of an ambitious person in her situation. The Prince, her husband, is universally allowed to have been the weakest of men. He had, however, a strange mixture of cunning, incessant activity, and habits of such com-

plete hypocrisy as would seem to have required more talent and force of character. His sole employment was intrigue either among men or women. In his intercourse with the latter, he fell into the hands of Lady Archibald Hamilton, a little woman not handsome, but of an agreeable face, captivating manners, and the highest, most domineering spirit. She obtained a complete ascendancy over the Prince to such a degree that he pledged himself, by every solemn tie which it was possible to invent, to marry her as soon as her husband, Lord Archibald Hamilton, died, who, however, though old, lived longer than was convenient to his wife or to the Prince. Circumstances obliged the Prince to take the resolution to marry, and Lady Archibald thought fit to permit it, for without her it could not have proceeded. She had still influence enough to decide in great measure his choice, and thought she had pitched upon one whose figure and understanding made it impossible that she could ever arrive at any influence. Lady Archibald continued after the marriage to rule as before with absolute sway, the Princess appearing to submit to everything. The courtiers of every denomination directed their homage solely to her, without bestowing a single attention elsewhere. Mr. Pitt, and the Grenvilles among others, followed this course, which I have heard assigned as the reason of

the unconquerable aversion which George Grenville afterwards experienced on the part of the present King. The Prince's life may be judged in some degree from the account given of it in Lord Melcombe's Diary, a man who passed his life with great men whom he did not know, and in the midst of affairs which he never comprehended, but recites facts from which others may draw deductions which he never could. The Prince's activity could only be equalled by his childishness and his falsehood. His life was such a tissue of both as could only serve to show that there is nothing which mankind will not put up with where power is lodged. In the year of the rebellion, when the account of the rebels arriving at Derby threw all London in consternation, when the King, his father, was erecting his standard at Barnet, and his younger brother, the Duke, was come from the army in Flanders and gone to meet the Pretender, he was found playing at blindman's-buff with his pages. Mr. Hamilton, Lady Archibald's brother, has told me that he sent for him a favourite German page in such a hurry, when it was understood that the late Duke of Marlborough had left the Opposition to go to Court, that he was not suffered to sit down to his dinner which was on the table, nor to stay for his coach, but was obliged to go in the page's hackney-coach to attend the Prince, who gave him directions

to go instantly in search of the Duke from His Royal Highness; but, in a few minutes' conversation, forgot the business so far as to insist on his first staying a game of cricket with him and the pages, with little bats and balls, in a large room in Norfolk House. His duplicity was such that Lord Melcombe once brought him a country member of parliament, whom he left with the Prince, that he might be brought over to vote with Opposition, and he could not refrain—for his conceit of himself kept pace with his duplicity and his folly with both—pointing at Lord Melcombe, who afterwards crossed the window, saying that he was counted a man of parts, but that he had touched him for £2000 that morning. He had a notion that he could get round anybody by talking nonsense to them, and after playing a dirty trick, or being caught in some infamous lie by such a man as Lord Granville, or any other the ablest men of the time, he would take them into a corner and say he had 'raccommoded all that,' or played 'Firmo Firmo'* with them. He once sent for Mr. Fox, assuring him that he had taken every precaution that it should not be known; admitting him at a private door, or by means of a confidential page, while he contrived to have some one to see him go out, that should tell Mr. Pelham immediately, and that it should go to the King.

* Apparently the name of some game of chance.

But Mr. Fox was beforehand with him, for he acquainted Mr. Pelham before he went, and went by his advice. The late Lord Lyttleton complained of Lord Granville, whom he had brought about the Prince, deserting him as he called it; when he reproached him for making such use as he had done of the Prince, Lord Granville asked, 'What the devil else he could think he ever went to the Prince for?" The Prince gave Mr. Hamilton a full length picture of himself, his hand upon a Prayer Book, which was understood to have represented his solemn engagement to marry his sister. Mr. Hamilton has often told me that he despised the man so heartily, he could not endure to hang it up, and it lies ever since in a store-room. After these engagements with Lady Archibald, he wanted to make an occasional use of Mr. Hamilton's house. Mr. Hamilton refused it. The Prince taking him to task in Carlton House gardens, some strong expressions passed, and the Prince challenged him to fight him in the grove which makes part of the garden; but Lady Archibald took care to be near enough to interpose and save her hero from all harm.

"While all this passed the Princess was left to herself, neglected by her husband, kept down by Lady Archibald, and suffering all the mortifications attendant upon great and insignificant situations

in all Courts. Naturally given to dissimulation and intrigue, she had both time and opportunity to improve these important qualifications; she was surrounded with nothing else, and the perpetual mortifications she submitted to pressed and obliged her to exert both. She had an eye which almost turned in the socket, and carried a good deal of insinuation, and if attentively examined a great deal of observation. She had resolution equal to any enterprise, and had a perfect command of temper. Her more than want of beauty, the Prince's dissipated life, and Lady Archibald's established power and high spirit, which made her too proud to indulge suspicion, much more to take those precautions and practise that vigilance, without which it is impossible to exist in the humblest Court, gave her full scope to play what game she pleased without observation. She took the part of shutting her eyes on the Prince's attachments, and contented herself with making the most of such moments as were allotted to her by flattering his vanity, which was excessive, entering into all his little tricks to gain popularity, and offering herself a ready instrument in all his plans of falsehood and deception. It may be judged by a single authentick anecdote what an adept she was in these tricks. When he was ill the Queen, his mother, upbraided her son in such terms that very high words were known to pass, and that

they parted upon the worst terms. This did not, however, prevent her attending Her Majesty to her coach. When in full view of an immense mob she knelt in the kennel to ask Her Majesty's blessing before the coach drove away. It is said to have enraged the Queen beyond all measure. It was some time however, before any thing happened to show the power she had imperceptibly gained, nor was it even suspected till Lady Archibald resigned, in consequence of an affront cast on Lord Archibald, contrived as was supposed expressly to drive her to such a step by those who knew her spirit, and that it was not made to brook any insult. Part of her family affirm that the Princess had for a long time before intercepted and read her correspondence with the Prince by corrupting the page who was entrusted with it. Another part of her family are satisfied that it was the Prince himself who betrayed her through the natural falsehood and fickleness of his temper, and being grown impatient of her control which knew no management. If fame says true, the Princess did not want for society, and it is supposed had more admirers than one. However that be, she in the end avowed a particular confidence in the Earl of Bute, a nephew of the Duke of Argyle, who had run away with the daughter of Mr. Wortley Montague, and afterwards led a life

of singular retirement, with a strange mixture of solitary pomp in it, in the Island of Bute. Coming back to London after some time he lived in a society fond of the stage, and used to act for their own amusement, where he gained some reputation as an actor. This was the first means of his introduction to the Court of Leicester House, where a play was going forward in which a part was allotted him. Thence he came into the Princess's family, and I believe there is no doubt that he found there a kind protectress in Lady Howe, who was Lady of the Bedchamber, where he was supposed to have arrived at last. I believe it's certain that Lady Howe at last forgave him. Though old and ugly she conceived she had a right to his constancy, and was not disposed to yield it very willingly to her mistress. As far as I have heard, this and everything of the sort passed unobserved during the Prince's life, which furnished sufficient matter of observation of itself, and gave abundant time and opportunity to persons of more discretion to do what they liked. The first question which naturally presented itself regarded the education of the Prince and his brothers. The Duke of Newcastle made a faint attempt to insist upon their removal to St. James's. Lord Granville laughed at the folly of their looking to a future reign, 'when they would be young gentlemen of

seventy and upwards.' Mr. Fox* and Mr. Pitt were kept from taking a very forward part from the suspicion above mentioned, and I suppose an apprehension that they might be left in the lurch by his unsteady Grace, where all real power at the time rested. The Princess played the part of the widow and the mother with every show of affecting tenderness possible.†

* * * * * *

"It appears by Lord Melcombe's diary that every thing was kept perfectly quiet for a considerable time after. The Princess acted her part with singular propriety. She lived retired without the least ostentation. The publick supposed her occupied and attached to her numerous family. The Court was old; the Ministry was old; there was a long generation between them and the heir-apparent and his brothers and sisters. The old King, who had been always violent against his son, sought to prove himself in the right by his tenderness for the Princess. She knew admirably how to improve the appearance if not the reality of this to her advantage. She likewise omitted no proper occasion of showing herself and her sons and daughter in situations which might interest the publick, descending to the

* This was not generally supposed to have been the case. Walpole, "Memoirs," i. 195.

† A sheet of the narrative is here missing.

excess of affability, which naturally produced a contrast with the manners of the Duke,* which were so lofty as to make him generally unpopular. He was supported by the army on the one hand; on the other, by Mr. Fox and his party, who were distinguished by their looseness of manners and an avowed disregard of every kind of principle. These circumstances added to other parts of his character and the known predilection of the King, made several people doubt how far his designs might end, and their suspicions were industriously heightened by the emissaries of Leicester House. The Prince himself was more particularly impressed with them. Thus was laid the foundation of a building, which has withstood every attack which the constitution and people of England could devise for thirty years, of so hard a composition as to resist the effects of the greatest misfortunes and the grossest misconduct known in any country except Spain, and not qualified, as when a breach has been made and the assailants entered, it has been but for a moment till they have been expelled again, the Earl of Bute having contrived such a lock to it as a succession of the ablest men have not been able to pick, nor has he ever let the key be so much as seen by which he has held it. His Lordship had the address at this time, to make the Prince feel him

* The Duke of Cumberland.

his safeguard, his friend, and his comforter, whose counsels were not only to defend him against the Duke and the old Ministry but against the Whigs in general, whom he represented as having from a levelling republican party degenerated into an aristocratical faction, who kept his grandfather in chains, and were determined to make a mere pageant of the Throne. He had even the dexterity to take the Prince's part occasionally against the Princess herself, being sure of his first hold. All this was greatly facilitated by the Prince's education having at first been totally neglected, and next by both his father's and mother's treatment, which went the length of the most decided contempt of him, if not aversion, setting up his brother the Duke of York's understanding and parts in opposition to his, and undervaluing everything he said or did. Upon the Prince's death the Princess changed her manner, took the turn of caressing her eldest son, and keeping both his brothers and sisters at the greatest distance possible for the purpose not only of courting her eldest son, but of preventing any connection or habits taking place which might interfere with her and Lord Bute's plan. But she could not get rid of her manner so totally, which had a great want of feeling in it towards all her children, as not to give Lord Bute's frequent occasions of interfering, which he improved so as to make the Prince believe

he risked everything for his sake. One of the shrewdest men I ever knew, Sir Robert Wilmot, who was secretary to the Lord Chamberlain, told me that he had occasion to attend the Princess soon after the accession in Carleton Gardens, when with a look she sent away her children who were with her, and entered into an examination with him about old carpets and furniture which were lying in the store rooms at St. James's.

"It was some time after the Prince's death before Lord Bute appeared. The Princess, as has been mentioned, had a difficult part to act, which she did abroad with great success towards the old King, his court, and the publick, and even at home she passed her evenings with a very small party of select people of a certain race, more distinguished for their propriety and correctness of conduct than for their wit, and out of any political line, so as to give no offence to any party. Lord Bute's finger appeared as soon as the Princess had succeeded so far as general impressions went, by his advising Her Royal Highness to see Mr. Pitt, which she did at Mr. George Grenville's house in Upper Brook Street privately of an evening. It must be supposed that Mr. Pitt lent a very ready ear to the first beck of the Princess Dowager. It has been before stated that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox stood first of any persons in the House of Commons upon Mr.

Pelham's death, with the reason of their present junction against the Duke of Newcastle,* a natural one, one on account of his character—a most unnatural one in every other respect. Nothing could be more dissimilar than their characters, talents, habits, education; and though they both had views of arriving at the first place in Ministry, yet they differed totally in the means and road which was to lead to it.

"Mr. Pitt was a younger brother of no great family, as I believe the founder of it was Governor Pitt his grandfather, commonly known by the name of Diamond Pitt, on account of a vast large diamond which he obtained I know not how in the East Indies. It is no scandal to say there was a great degree of madness in the family; one sister is now confined, another described to be so on account of a most profligate life which she led, which prevented her being admitted into any company, and I believe there was a third in the style of the second. The elder brother was not confined, but obliged to lead a very retired life, first in England, and afterwards to live abroad in very bad circumstances, though he inherited a very considerable fortune and a considerable parliamentary interest, part of which has descended and is now enjoyed by his son, Lord Camelford. He dissipated a great deal, and immersed himself in irretrievable

* In 1754–1755.

distress by bad projects, and by bad economy unaccompanied with generosity or dignity, so as not to leave him a single friend in his distress. I passed a whole night with him at Utrecht, when he did nothing but abuse his brother for a hypocrite and a scoundrel and an impostor, with a great flow of language and a quantity of anecdotes. Mr. William Pitt was by all accounts a very singular character from the time he went to Eton, where he was distinguished, and must have had a very early turn of observation, by his telling me, that his reason for preferring private to publick education was, that he scarce observed a boy who was not cowed for life at Eton; that a publick school might suit a boy of a turbulent forward disposition, but would not do where there was any gentleness. He came into the world, as I have said, under the protection of Lord Cobham. Lord Cobham's character can be best described by those who knew him; but I have always understood him to have been an officer bred in the Queen's time, licentious, factious, and no speaker, but who passed his whole time in clapping young men upon the back, keeping house with a good economy, and saying things at his table which nobody else would say in a private room, with a good degree of shrewdness however in his conversation as well as his conduct.

"Mr. Pitt's setting out in the army, and being

turned out by Sir Robert Walpole is very well known. He told me that Sir Robert offered him the troop which was afterwards given to General Conway, so that if he had continued in the army he would have been immediately above him. He likewise told me that during the time he was Cornet of Horse there was not a military book which he did not read through. It may be easily conceived what progress an ardent mind with a dash of madness and certainly a most extraordinary imagination, must have made, steadily directing his mind and time from his earliest youth, as Mr. Wilkes says, 'to the studying of words and rounding of sentences,' for he was *totus in hoc*, not appearing to have applied to any other branch of science whatever. It is remarkable that neither he nor Lord Granville could write a common letter well. Of his imagination he used to say himself that it was so strong that most things returned to him with stronger force the second time than the first. He was so attentive to forming his own taste, that he would not look at a bad print if he could avoid it, wishing not to hazard his eye for a moment. He either sacrificed or kept down every other passion with a view to forward his ambition. One particular is sufficient to show the extraordinary command he must have had over himself from his setting out. In 1754, or thereabouts, Sir George Lyttleton

quitted the above-mentioned set, and was gained by Lord Hardwicke to join the Duke of Newcastle, when he made a figure very different from what he had made, and very inferior to what could be expected of him. Mr. Pitt was the only one who was not in the least surprised, when it was discovered, for the first time, that Mr. Pitt had enjoyed his exclusive confidence for a number of years, and had governed his conduct, with a perfect knowledge of the weakness of his character, without disclosing it, or suffering his particular intimacy to be discovered, while it was supposed there was no secret amongst the whole set, but that everything was shared in common. Lord Lyttleton was a fine poet, a good scholar, a dull historian, an amiable man, but a miserable politician. He was the most absent creature living; among a thousand good qualities he had great filial piety, and made a necessity of informing his father in the country of the most secret purposes of his party. They had formed it seems, a project of opposition before Mr. Pelham's death; it was of the utmost importance to keep it secret; Lord Lyttleton would not trust his letter giving an account of it to the post, but desired a trusty friend going into the country to call upon him for it, but when he did so gave him a trifling letter which he had written at the same time, and afterwards sent the letter intended for his father

to the post *without a direction.* It was opened there of course, as all such letters necessarily are. The office immediately sent it to Mr. Pelham; Mr. Pelham, after some consideration, desired Mr. Nugent a common friend of his and Sir G. Lyttleton's, to give it to him, explaining exactly how the matter happened. Mr. Nugent opened the matter with as much delicacy as he could, but shunned Sir George most excessively, whose chief complaint in the first moments of his distraction was, that William Pitt, with his unreasonable temper, would call it absence, and repeatedly asked Mr. Nugent, as a reasonable man, whether he saw any absence in it? It was the fashion to say that Mr. Pitt was violent, impetuous, romantick, a despiser of money, intrigue, and patronage, ignorant of the characters of men, and one who disregarded consequences. Nothing could be less just than the whole of this, which may be judged by the leading features of his life, without relying on any private testimony. He certainly was above avarice, but as to everything else, he only repressed his desires and acted; he was naturally ostentatious to a degree of ridicule; profuse in his house and family beyond what any degree of prudence could warrant. His marriage certainly had no sentiment in it. The transaction at the time of his resignation * does not carry with it an

* In 1762.

absolute indifference as to money or other advantages, nor did there appear in any of his subsequent negotiations, in or out of power, that he went beyond what was necessary to satisfy the people at the time, or to secure his wished for situation. In truth, it was his favourite maxim that a little new went a great way. He depended on taking quick turns, which was his forte: example, Wilkes. He did not cultivate men because he felt it an incumbrance, and thought that he could act to more advantage without the incumbrance of a party. He told me himself in 1767, that the world were much mistaken in thinking that he did not like patronage, for he was but a little man in 1755, and was obliged to act the part he did, and he proved very sufficiently that he did, by catching at everything that dropped in almost every department, and as to caution, there is no describing the pains and consideration which he gave to the minutest action. It would not be believed how much time he took to compose the most trifling note.* He passed his time studying words and expressions, always with a view to throw the responsibility of every measure upon some other, while he held a

* One time when he had a dispute with Sir Fletcher Norton in the House of Commons, he told me with some warmth that such an expression which he had used in his speeches could not be excepted against, for he had tried it upon paper three times before he determined to use it. (Note by Lord Shelburne.)

high pompous unmeaning language. What took much from his character was that he was always acting, always made up, and never natural, in a perpetual state of exertion, incapable of friendship, or of any act which tended to it, and constantly upon the watch, and never unbent. He told me that, independent of the consideration of his health and circumstances, he should for reasons of policy have always lived as he did a few miles out of town. I was in the most intimate political habits with him for ten years, the time that I was Secretary of State included, he Minister, and necessarily was with him at all hours in town and country, without drinking a glass of water in his house or company, or five minutes' conversation out of the way of business. I went to see him afterwards in Somersetshire, where I fell into more familiar habits with him, which continued and confirmed me in all that I have said. He was tall in his person, and as genteel as a martyr to the gout could be, with the eye of a hawk, a little head, thin face, long aquiline nose, and perfectly erect. He was very well bred, and preserved all the manners of the *vieille cour*, with a degree of pedantry however in his conversation especially when he affected levity. I never found him when I have gone to him, which was always by appointment, with so much as a book before him, but always sitting alone in a drawing-room

waiting the hour of appointment, and in the country with his hat and stick in his hand.

"It was a long time before I could learn from Mr. Pitt his opinion of Mr. Fox's private character. He then told me that he thought him the *blackest* man that ever lived; that he was a great dealer in anonymous letters to set people at variance with each other, and suggest to each such opinions as he thought convenient; that he carried it so far that, to his latter end, whenever he went about purchasing an estate, he had recourse to such methods of undervaluing it, and deterring others from bidding for it; that he dealt much also in newspaper abuse, though he was continually complaining and crying about it; that he educated his children without the least regard to morality, and with such extravagant vulgar indulgence, that the great change which has taken place among our youth has been dated from the time of his son's going to Eton. His letters to his sons still exist in the family, inciting them to extravagance.

"It will easily be imagined that, considering their respective characters, the union between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, could not be very sincere, especially as Mr. Fox had a sort of precedence of him, by going into the King as Secretary at War, and for the moment got himself much looked up to by means of the Duke of Cumberland, and a variety

of connections, which he was daily enlisting, and more particularly by the opposition which he made to the Marriage Bill proposed by Lord Hardwicke.* Though he did not succeed against it, he gained himself great reputation, and some degree of popularity by the spirit and wit with which he opposed and attacked Lord Hardwicke. Finally, he accepted the seals in 1755.

"Such were the *dramatis personæ* previous to the war which commenced by Captain Howe's capture of two French men-of-war in that year.

"The war was contrived by the Duke of Cumberland underhand. Mr. Fox was his instrument. Mr. Pitt was not sorry for it as things stood. The Duke of Newcastle was frightened, bullied, and betrayed into it. The consequence of this situation was that no plan was laid, no preparations whatever thought of.

"The Duke of Newcastle in Council proposed seizing the French men-of-war. Lord Granville laughed at that, and was the cause of seizing the merchant-men upon the principle of common sense, 'If you hit, hit hard,' which measure, suggested by Lord Granville who could not be considered as more than a looker-on in Council, saved us from ruin.

"The French had no idea of war, the King

* In 1753. See Lord Stanhope's "History," iv. xxxi.

disliked it; the people did not call for it. M. de Mirepoix, their Ambassador, was completely deceived, perhaps not intentionally, by the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Albemarle* died in the crisis; his corpse was insulted upon account of his debts, or on account of his dying scandalously indebted with nothing to pay.

"The French Ministry and Court were in confusion, the King determined to have no Prime Minister, indifferent as to every thing else which fell under the influence of Madame Pompadour. She brought Cardinal Bernis forward, whom the King found with her in such a manner as to alarm the Abbé for his person, instead of which he made him Minister. The Cardinal told me at Rome in 1771, that the cabals ran so high against him at Court that the only struggle there was how to give the most certain intelligence to England of the design against Minorca† on purpose that it might fail, which carried them so far that he told me he was at last persuaded that we must believe it was given out so publickly on purpose to deceive.

"With us the war set out under the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland. He sent Braddock, a brave but blundering officer of the Guards to North

* The English Ambassador at Paris.

† In 1755. The expedition was in 1756.

America. Upon his defeat,* Lord Loudon, another of the Duke's school, was appointed to succeed him, but he was a mere pen-and-ink man. He took the command himself in Germany. He had never showed himself an able officer, and was now become very inefficient on account of his great corpulency added to his short sight. He had no able persons about him, and lost the Battle of Hastenbeck† from trusting to the report of an Hanoverian Quarter-master-General, who assured him that a wood upon his right was not penetrable. It happened to be the gentleman's own wood, and he did not like to have it cut. The Duke's unwieldiness and consequent inactivity prevented his examining it. How many such instances occur in all business, particularly war. No eyes can be trusted. The French came on that side, but still all might have been saved if the Duke had had confidence in himself. Both sides thought themselves beat for a considerable time, but the French recovered their senses first. Wonderful upon what slight matters great events, and particularly battles turn, and how things often conduct themselves, if men are not frightened and do not run away. At the Battle of Dettingen in the preceding war, there literally was no Commander. Lord Stair had resigned two days before; the army did not know whom to obey.

* In 1755. † In 1757.

The King however, who had no sense but courage, marched with his son the Duke, which gave a spirit to the whole army. Lord Stair assumed the command of his own accord seeing the confusion, and the battle was gained. Count La Lippe who was present, described to me the situation. Nothing could be more ridiculous than the scene at head-quarters, the King, his Ministers, Lord Granville, the Generals, none understanding each other.

"The fleet under Admiral Byng was beat. The admiral shot very unjustly, as everybody agreed, owing entirely to Lord Hardwicke to turn the unpopularity from his son-in-law, Lord Anson. It is not surprising that a Ministry composed like that which succeeded on the resignation of the Duke of Devonshire should soon give way.* The Duke of Newcastle and all the Whig families — the Princess of Wales and the heir-apparent — Mr. Pitt with the city and the cry of the people—all against them, the King old and timid and incapable of preference during his whole life. Besides, Mr. Fox had neither courage nor elevation of mind; he had sunk under the first panick which prevailed very generally on the loss of Minorca, and thought and called Mr. Pitt a madman for taking the Govern-

* Lord Waldegrave, First Lord of the Treasury; Mr. Fox, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Earl Granville, Lord President; Earl of Egremont, Secretary of State. This Ministry lasted a few days only.

ment,* which he was persuaded for a long time would burst for want of success in his hands. Mr. Pitt, in the course of the negociation which preceded his return to Ministry, took a step which surprised everybody. He was apprehensive that Lord Hardwicke and the Duke of Newcastle misrepresented what he said in the Closet, which made him take the sudden resolution, after one of his conferences, to take the part of driving directly to Lady Yarmouth and telling her all that passed, requesting that she would tell the King the *truth*. This ripened the negociation and laid the foundation of cordial support in an important quarter, which he ever after cultivated by every means possible, and went so far as to pronounce a publick eulogium upon the virtues of the Countess of Yarmouth in the House of Commons.† The whole of this was so much out of his generally received character that

* The allusion here is to the appointment of Mr. Pitt to be Secretary of State under the Duke of Devonshire in 1756, not to his appointment under the Duke of Newcastle in 1757. It will be observed that the fall of the Duke of Newcastle in 1756, and the accession to office of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Pitt are passed over without mention by Lord Shelburne.

† In the first of these changes Mr. Pitt told me that the King took a resolution to do nothing. When the Ministers went into him he would neither say Yes or No nor sign anything. He said nobody could compel him, and that he did not like them, and this *flagrante bello*. It lasted a week till Mr. Pitt went to Lady Yarmouth and told her it would not do, that they must resign and she brought all about. (Note by Lord Shelburne.)

the old courtiers were confounded with being outdone at their own game, and Lord Bute often told me that he could never have conceived Pitt would have condescended to so much meanness, but Lord Bute with the mass of the people were dupes to the imposture of Mr. Pitt's character. There was nothing to which he would not stoop to gain his point, he knew the value of condescension, and reserved himself for the moment when he was almost certain of gaining his point by it, till then he pranced and vapoured. He likewise mixed into his conduct strict honour in details, which I have often observed deceive many men in great affairs, as the multitude have no great compass, and provided a man does not play false in the common intercourse of life, and is punctual in common dealing, if he be a cunning, dextrous man with loose views, he will escape detection in large views by sacrificing lesser. The Duke of Newcastle was at bottom an honester man, but he lost the reputation of one by good nature and want of resolution in conducting the common patronage of the Treasury. Mr. Pitt likewise gained consideration* by his justness and fairness towards the Duke of Cumberland in regard to the Convention of Closterseven. The King was displeased with

* See Count La Lippe's letter to Marshal Richelieu. (Note by Lord Shelburne.)

his conduct, alleged that he had not authority to conclude it, and under this impression referred it to a Cabinet, where the Duke of Newcastle and his friends took the part most likely to recommend them at Court, when Mr. Pitt on the contrary, declared he thought the Duke justified by his instructions, at the same time that he differed from the policy of the instructions, and I believe voted for putting the army again into motion under the command of the Prince of Brunswick. This gained him considerable reputation, for it was well known that he was fundamentally adverse to the Duke of Cumberland.

"Thus the war produced a strong Council and a strong Government. The Cabinet Council was composed of the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pitt Secretary of State, Lord Keeper Henley, Lord Hardwicke, Lord Mansfield, Lord Granville, Lord Holdernesse, Lord Anson, and Lord Ligonier. There were no party politics and consequently no difference of opinion. I have heard Lord Chatham say they were the most agreeable conversations he ever experienced. The Duke of Newcastle, a very good-humoured man, was abundantly content with the whole patronage being left to him, in consequence of which he enjoyed full levées, promised and broke his word, cajoled and flattered all mankind, and, like the fly upon the chariot-wheel, imagined that

he carried on the Government. Lord Keeper Henley was kept down by Lord Hardwicke, whose great ambition was to see his son Charles Yorke Chancellor. He inspired his son with the same passion who, after his death, abandoned all his friends to accomplish it, and cut his throat the night he had accepted.* Lord Hardwicke again was kept in order by Lord Granville's wit, who took advantage of the meeting of the balance of all parties to pay off old scores, and to return all that he owed to the Pelhams and the Yorkes. He had a rooted aversion to Lord Hardwicke and to all his family, I don't precisely know for what reason, but he got the secret of cowing Lord Hardwicke, whose pretensions to classical learning gave Lord Granville, who really was a very fine classical scholar, a great opportunity. To this was added his knowledge of civil law, in which Lord Hardwicke was deficient, and above all his wit, but whatever way he got the key, he used it on all occasions unmercifully. In one of the short lived administrations at the commencement of the war, Lord Granville, who had generally dined, turned round to say, 'I am thinking that all over Europe they are waiting our determination and canvassing our characters. The Duke of Newcastle, they'll say, is a man of great fortune, who has spent a great deal of it in support

* In 1770.

of the present family; Fox, they'll say, is an impudent fellow who has fought his way here through the House of Commons; as for me they know me throughout Europe, they know my talents and my character, but I am thinking they will all be asking, *Qui est ce —— de Chancelier?* How came he there?'

"Lord Mansfield was a very able advocate, but of no kind of force or elevation, and cow'd by Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons with the imputation of early Jacobitism constantly hanging round his neck, besides belonging to the Duke of Newcastle. I have heard from different members of the Cabinet, that he never opened his lips during that administration. He was the most diligent of human beings. It is a great mistake to suppose that these remarkable men are not diligent. I have known many and never knew an instance to the contrary. William Murray was sixteen years of age when he came out of Scotland, and spoke such broad Scotch that he stands entered in the University Books at Oxford as born at Bath, the Vice Chancellor mistaking *Bath* for *Perth*. He certainly was by nature a very eminent man, bred like all the great families of Scotland an intriguing aristocrat, poor and indefatigable, very friendly and very timid. He contrived, like several of the Scotch, Lord Loughborough, &c., to get rid of his brogue, but always spoke in a feigned voice like

Leoni the Jew singer. His eloquence was of an argumentative metaphysical cast, and his great art always appeared to me to be to watch his opportunity to introduce a proposition unperceived, when his cause was ever so bad, afterwards found a true argument upon it, of which nobody could be more capable, and then give way to his imagination in which he was by no means wanting, nor in scholarship, particularly classical learning, thanks to Westminster. I have seen a speech of his before the Cabinet Council, when Lord Ravensworth brought an accusation against him of having drunk the Pretender's health at the house of one Fawcett. The speech exists, though not printed. It was shown me by Lord Sydney. I remember against one of the articles of accusation, viz., that, when Solicitor-General prosecuting the rebels of 1745, he never applied the epithet *Rebels*, nor any other harsh epithet against them, his reply was that he had the happiness to serve a most gracious sovereign, to whom he would ill-pay his Court if he was to load the unfortunate victims to mistaken opinions with harsh and cruel epithets; that if he had lived in the time he would not for all Lord Coke's favour, wealth, and power, have left such a blot upon his memory as the abuse with which he loaded Sir Walter Raleigh. I alluded to this in the House of Lords when he loaded the Americans with every

reproach that the English language could invent. The speech certainly was sent me underhand by a friend of Lord Mansfield for the purpose.

"Like the generality of Scotch, Lord Mansfield had no regard to truth whatever. Sir Thomas Clerk, Master of the Rolls, said to Sir Eardley Wilmot, 'You and I have lived long in the world, and of course have met with a great many liars, but did you ever know such a liar as Will. Murray, whom we have seen capable of lying before twelve people, every one of whom he knows knows also that he lies.' But the worst part of his character as a judge was what Mr. Pitt called inventing law, and no fond parent could be more attached to his offspring than he was to such inventions. He had a most indecent habit of attending the appeals against his own decrees in the House of Lords. Lord Bathurst, when Chancellor,* was so overawed by Lord Mansfield's manner that he literally, as Speaker, decided a cause against a decree of his own, when, upon counting the House some time after, there was a majority of one against Lord Mansfield's opinion, but it was too late. Lord Bathurst was flustered, and, in his confusion, gave it against. At the same time nobody was enough interested to call for a division. Mr. Hume told me that, after one of his Sunday evening circles, Lord

* 1771–1778.

Mansfield was boasting to him, which he was apt to do, of the quantity of business which he went through. Mr. Hume said, 'How was it possible!' Lord Mansfield said he would tell him his secret. When he went to the sittings at the Council or any of the other Courts he called for a list of the causes, and he could easily distinguish which would draw attention, and those he studied as well as he could or as his time permitted; the others he left to chance or off-hand opinions. Lord Camden always said that he was sure Lord Mansfield never decided a cause right or wrong from a pure motive all his life.

"Lord Holdernesse supported himself, as many a man has done before him and since, by his insignificance.

"Lord Ligonier was an old woman supported by the routine of office, and having no opinion of his own.

"Lord Anson the same; he had married Lord Hardwicke's daughter. Lord Hardwicke with great deliberation and sanctity sacrificed Admiral Byng to be shot,* contrary to every rule of justice and to the best naval opinions, to stem the public clamour and save his son-in-law.

"Such was the Cabinet which had to carry through the war, under the direction of Mr. Pitt, who did it

* In 1757.

by the following means: first, by leaving the Duke of Newcastle the undisturbed enjoyment of the whole patronage of the Crown, the only idea he had of power; secondly, by indulging Mr. Fox's love of money, which took full possession of him as soon as Mr. Pitt had shut the door on his ambition;* and, thirdly (having, by this time, secured the public confidence, and got rid of his rivals by one means or another), by applying himself to gain the Court through the surest channel, Lady Yarmouth, and determining to go every length to please the King in his ruling passion and that of the Hanover family, viz., German measures and personal avarice. He unsaid everything with which he had made the House of Commons and the public echo, in order to get into power. The King told him that confidence was a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom,† yet, by perseverance, the success of his measures, and an assiduous cultivation of Lady Yarmouth, he made his ground so good that, if George the Second had lived longer, he would have become sole Minister, and have had the sole power.

"By length of time, but chiefly by the incapacity

* Mr. Fox was Paymaster in this administration.

† Mr. Pitt used this expression at a later period with considerable effect on his own account. Speech on the Stamp Act, January 14th, 1766.

and imbecility of the House of Stuart, the Jacobites were now breathing their last gasp. Mr. Pitt began to restore them to military confidence in the instance of the Scotch Highlanders; they were eminently qualified, and proved a considerable resource towards carrying on the war by their numbers. Admiral Boscawen used to say that the Scotch were 'good soles,' but 'bad upper leather.' Mr. Pitt likewise brought forward the most producible into administration, and about the Court as grooms, &c.; not many, for it is wonderful how those that are long out of employment or business of any kind, fall off in talent and knowledge of mankind.

"It became necessary for me to take some resolution for myself;* home detestable; no prospect of a decent allowance to go abroad, neither happiness nor quiet. The war broke out; I determined upon going into the army; luckily, my father, by the advice of Mr. Fox, placed me in the 20th Regiment, where I came under General Wolfe. The brilliancy of his conduct as an officer, his figure, his address, the circumstances of the times, his being taken up by Mr. Pitt, his victory at Quebec, his death, will give him a considerable place in history. He was handsome in his person, thin, tall, well-made, with blue eyes, which rather marked life than

* 1757.

penetration. He asked me what allowance my father gave me, and, upon finding it did not exceed £600 a year, he told me I must borrow, and not touch my pay, but give it among distressed officers as occasion offered. I told him my father set the Duke of Richmond as an example before me. He said I should be the most unpopular man in England if I attempted to imitate him, that he had a line under his forehead, which marked neither greatness nor goodness, and he was a miser. He said this from no resentment, for he was well with the Duke of Richmond, who always looked up to him.

"General Wolfe had had no education. He was the son of a dull Irishman, who was Colonel of the Guards, and saved Sir Robert Walpole's life, or at least Sir Robert thought so, in some of the riots about the House of Commons in the last years of his Ministry. Whether he was upon duty or no, I do not know. Sir Robert offered him anything; he considered, and desired leave to ride through the park; Sir Robert desired him to consider again, and proposed an Irish peerage to him, but he still kept to his first request. He carried Colonel Wolfe with him when a boy to Flanders, which took him out of the way of all school learning. He was so sensible of this defect, that when a Captain and the regiment was quartered at Glasgow, he learned Latin, and read with a Scotch professor there; he learned to dance afterwards at

Paris; he was always reading Pope's Homer, Marcus Aurelius, &c., and I must do him the justice to say that the trouble he took about me was more from principle and elevation of mind than any particular liking; he behaved very nobly, forgave and preferred his enemies, and bore their ingratitude afterwards with great manliness; he did not regard money; he was animated and amiable to a great degree in his conversation; he criticised himself very freely, and laid bare his failings; he used to harangue the regiment with good success, and had great arts of popularity. He told me his mother was amiable, but I have not understood since that she was remarkable for her understanding.

"Colonel Barré wrote his letter from Quebec, where he was wore down by the factions and want of discipline among our own troops, promoted by General Murray and Lord Townshend, upon no plan but madness in the last and mischief and malignity in the first.*

"His principal talent was forming of troops. His manners were calculated for it. I was much beholden to him. He made me read not only military books, but philosophy; he gave me liberal

* The letter concludes, "I am so far recovered as to do business, but my constitution is entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the State, or without any prospect of it." September 9th, 1759. General Wolfe to the Secretary of State.

notions of every kind; he unprejudiced my mind; he advised me in everything, so particularly as to make me lists of company to ask to supper, which, with other such friendly hints, made me popular in the regiment and gained me friends who never quitted me, and he connected me with all the military men of character then coming forward, among others General Clerke, the planner of the expedition against Rochefort, with whom I fell into a most intimate connection, especially after General Wolfe's departure to Louisburg, whither I could not obtain leave to attend him."*

* Here the Autobiography ends. See Preface.

CHAPTER II.

LORD SHELBURNE, LORD BUTE, AND MR. FOX.

1757-1762.

IN 1757 Lord Fitzmaurice served in the expedition to Rochefort and subsequently under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick and Lord Granby in Germany, distinguishing himself at the Battle of Minden,* and again at Kloster Kampen when, as a volunteer, he joined the expedition led by the Hereditary Prince on the night of the 16th of October, 1760, in the hope of surprising the Marquis de Castries. During the retreat he was conspicuous by his courage, and on his return to England was rewarded with the rank of Colonel and the post of *aide de camp* to the King. His appointment, however, became the immediate cause of an outburst of spleen on the part of the Newcastle Whigs, already indignant "at the measure of bringing country lords and considerable gentle-

* 1759.

men about the King."* Lord George Lennox it was said had distinguished himself still more than Lord Fitzmaurice, and the Duke of Richmond in a fit of dissatisfaction resigned the Bedchamber,† which he had quite recently asked for and obtained. Of the gallantry of Lord George Lennox at Kampen there was indeed no doubt, but the equal services of Lord Fitzmaurice were thus witnessed to by Lord Granby himself, who wrote to the newly appointed *aide de camp*: "When, my dear Lord, your very gallant behaviour at Kloster Kampen is more known, every one will think you have well merited the honour you have received. I speak of you, my dear Lord, from the information of those who were eye-witnesses of your behaviour on that day, and no one does my friend Fitzmaurice more justice than the Hereditary Prince, who desired I would make his compliments to you."‡

In his new situation at Court Lord Fitzmaurice

* Lord Melcombe's Diary, December 4th, 1760.

† Walpole says, in a letter to George Montagu, December 11th 1760, that the appointment of Lord Fitzmaurice disgusted the army. The letter of Lord Granby—the most popular General in the army—proves the contrary. It was not the army in Germany but the army of Whig courtiers at home which was disgusted.

‡ Lord Granby to Lord Fitzmaurice, December 1761. For an account of the battle of Kloster Kampen and Lord George Lennox's gallant conduct, see the appendix to Lord Melcombe's diary, page 502, also a letter of the Duke of Richmond of May 23rd, 1782, to Lord Shelburne when Prime Minister asking for the post of Governor

was at once brought into communication with Bute. The moment was a turning-point in English history. A new King was on the throne, in every respect the opposite of his predecessor, while the rival King over the water was daily sinking lower and lower in the estimation of even his most devoted followers. The Jacobites, who ever since the revolution had either lived in retirement in the country or plotting against the established order of things in London, recognized the moment to have at length arrived for resuming their old position and returning to Court, where they were received with tokens of favour and welcome not unnaturally exhibited by a King who saw an important body of his subjects—men likely to be as useful to government as they had been dangerous in opposition—all at once determined to yield an allegiance no longer nominal but real. The Whigs, who during the same period had with a single brief interval divided place and power amongst themselves, saw the danger which threatened them, but did not understand the true methods of combating it. It would have been strange indeed if they had understood them, for partly from the

of Portsmouth for his brother. "I will say that no man has better pretensions as an officer, and I think too he has some claims on your Lordship as it was your being made a Colonel over his head after the battle of Kampen with Lord Down, that was the first cause of his being left so behind in his profession."

force of circumstances, partly under the influence of success, they had forgotten their own liberal creed and adopted that of their adversaries. Retribution was now to befall them. When the Jacobites returned to Court, it was no longer possible for the Whigs to argue that upon their own retention of power depended either the maintenance of the House of Hanover on the Throne, or that of the Protestant religion in the country, while of that support which they might justly have claimed out of doors from a vigorous assertion of the principles of the revolution of 1688, as capable of further development in the direction of civil and religious liberty, they had effectually deprived themselves. The popular belief was that it would have been difficult at that time to have found among the great revolution families, a single man ready to sacrifice an appointment at Court or an official salary for any such Quixotic object. Nor could the Whigs claim confidence as administrators, for every child in the street knew that, after the death of Mr. Pelham, they had proved themselves incapable either of governing the country at home or of waging war abroad with success, that only the talents and energy of Pitt had saved the country from ruin from the time when, after many hesitations, Newcastle had exchanged his majority for a share of the popularity

of the Great Commoner, and that it was the lustre of that popularity on which the Whig connection had been living ever since, though guiltless of having earned it. Thus, when George III. ascended the Throne, the Whigs had ceased to be either necessary or consistent or even respected, while Pitt — although France, exhausted by the struggle, was willing to treat—seemed determined to carry on the war long after its main objects had been attained. It was in this posture of affairs that Lord Fitzmaurice, entering public life, found Bute and Bedford anxious to end the war, and to put an end to the domination of Newcastle, the head of the most powerful of the three great Whig factions —the Pelhams, the Russells, and the Grenvilles. Bute had ulterior views which he only gradually avowed, and fortunately lacked the ability to carry out. Meanwhile his objects were such as recommended themselves to the mind of Lord Fitzmaurice.

The Favourite had realised that it was necessary to obtain the services of some man of commanding ability in the House of Commons, and had cast his eyes on Henry Fox.

Of all the statesmen of the time, Henry Fox was the least bound up with the existing system. On the formation of the Newcastle-Pitt administration in 1757, the whilom Secretary of State and

leader of the House of Commons had had to content himself with the small prestige and large emoluments of the Pay Office, a post which, indeed, he had only obtained by the decided interference of the King in his favour.* Since then he had remained in a position of comparative obscurity, credited by the country with the possession of enormous gains, and the object accordingly of an unpopularity which his charm in private life only went a very short way towards redeeming; but his talents were undoubted, both as an administrator and a debater. Between Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox there existed a connection,† and to the son of Lord Shelburne, Bute not unnaturally looked as a convenient medium of communication. Nor was there any unwillingness in the other principal to the negociation. Ever since the death of George II. Henry Fox had been engaged in worshipping the rising sun,‡ and endeavouring to attract its attention to his orisons. Two great difficulties stood in his way, his unpopularity with the King, and his connection with the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Devonshire, both of whom had extended a steady protection to him during the time of his political

* George II. to the Duke of Newcastle, September 1757.

† Bentham's works, vol. x. 101. Walpole to Mann, April 22nd, 1751.

‡ Mr. Fox to Mr. Collinson, February 1761.

effacement. It would be impossible to serve them and Bute at the same time, and it was not consequently till after many hesitations, that Fox at last resolved to make an offer of his services to the Court, coupling his advances with the demand of a peerage for Lady Caroline Fox. Early in February he accordingly wrote to Lord Fitzmaurice, asking him to obtain an interview with Bute.* The request was readily granted, and the preliminaries of the negociation were soon settled, but difficulties then arose about the peerage, for the King believed Fox to have opposed the wishes of the Princess Dowager and Bute as to his own early education after the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales. Fox became alarmed at the delay, and gave vent to his feelings in the following letter:†

MY DEAR LORD.—I take it for granted, by my not having seen you, you have not seen Lord Bute to-day. Consequently, whatever wants explanation is not explained; and may grow more hard to be explained. I do not comprehend Lord Bute's way of thinking, I might more truly say I do not know it on this occasion. If I have done wrong I suffer for it; but in all my uneasy thinking I cannot find out what to accuse myself of. If you

* Fox to Fitzmaurice, February 1761.

† Fox to Fitzmaurice, Feb. 20th, 1761.

see nothing improper in it, pray read the inclosed paper to, or leave it with Lord Bute.* It contains nothing but truth and, indeed, I think, the whole truth; some that I am asham'd of, I mean the little resolution with which I bear this disappointment. I have, indeed, said nothing of the unmanly envy it occasions in me; but I still flatter myself that nobody can at last more thoroughly withdraw into that narrow circle where all my happyness shall depend on myself and family. It costs at first to philosophize, but the philosophy will not be less perfect and calm and uninterrupted when it is determin'd. It is not so yet, or I should not write thus much about it.

Yours ever,

HENRY FOX.

In March Lord Holdernesse resigned the seals, and Bute accepted them, thus taking his first step on the ladder of ministerial promotion. "Mr. Fox," writes Lord Fitzmaurice to the new Secretary of State, "is not at all surprised at the change in general that is proposed, nor does he think that His Majesty's affairs will be carried on the worse for it. He does not, no more than I do, wish your Lordship *joy* of it, but congratulates the public very much, and wishes you all the private and

* Paper missing.

particular satisfaction and success the situation can admit of, and your Lordship's wishes suggest. Since Sir Robert Walpole's time there has been no Ministry in this kingdom; and he hopes this will be the beginning of a durable and an honourable one to both King and State."*

While the negotiation was still thus in embryo Lord Shelburne died, and Lord Fitzmaurice, who had been returned as member for the family borough of Chipping Wycombe at the general election, was in consequence removed to the House of Lords without having taken his seat in the House of Commons. A month before the death of his father, he had applied for the Comptrollership of the Household; but the King, apparently taking exception to some expressions used in his request, refused to grant it. This refusal was the more severely felt, as the Comptrollership, had been asked as a step to an office of real employment. "As to the Comptrollership," writes Fitzmaurice to Bute, "your Lordship knows better than I do, the manner places and employments are asked for in. By the manner I asked for this, you must be sensible that, if any exigency required that it should be given to another, which by my own knowledge I think proper in the present case of Lord Powis, I should have been sorry that it had been given to me. I told your Lordship, by

* Fitzmaurice to Bute, March 1761.

giving it, you could not make me more your friend by refusing it, in the manner I was sure you would do, you would not make me less so. I was prevailed upon to ask it, as a step which might facilitate my coming to an employment of real business.

"But I am sorry that by any fault, in my expressions to His Majesty, my meaning and intentions should not have been understood. I cannot conceive that any man attached to His Majesty's Ministers and satisfied with their conduct, should not desire to have as considerable employments as he thinks suitable to his talents and capacity. If I had declared myself to be one of those that follow, I cannot imagine that His Majesty could have so favourable an opinion of me as I flatter myself he has. The only pleasure I propose by employment is not the profit, but to act a part suitable to my rank and capacity such as it is. If I have no employment, my part I hope still shall be suitable, and it is a pleasure which it is impossible to be deprived of."*

Vexed at the refusal, Shelburne began to talk of retirement and devotion to country pursuits, except during a short interval of the year. Fox, however, did not encourage him in these notions. "Why," he writes,† "should not you like farming, but you are too young for anything that

* Fitzmaurice to Bute, April 23rd, 1761.

† Fox to Shelburne, June 29th, 1761.

savours of retirement or philosophy. I should say more on this topick but that, in the same letter, I see you have ordered Mr. Adam to look out for space to build an Hotel upon. The late Lord Leicester and the late Lord Digby were about a fine piece of ground for that purpose, still to be had, the garden of which, or the court before which may extend all along the bottom of Devonshire Garden, though no house must be built there; the house must be where some old paltry stables stand at the lower end of Bolton Row. You see I can cherish this idea of yours.

"The other is quite unsuitable to time and place and years and talents."

And a few days after he continues in the same strain: *

"You will I hope tell me when you shall come, for, as to your scheme of country life, it will never do. You see, this first summer of it, how it is interrupted by this scene of joy,† to which I wish I could add hopes of approaching peace, but I fear they grow fainter."

The scheme was accordingly abandoned, and Shelburne once more became the busy centre of the negotiations between Bute and Fox, which meanwhile had been renewed but had made slight pro-

* Fox to Shelburne, July 9th, 1761.

† The marriage of the King.

gress, for Fox still demanded a peerage for Lady Caroline as the price of his support, and Bute under the influence of the King still made difficulties.

Fox now began to have doubts whether "Bute intended to keep his word and go on amicably with him," * and at length, urged by these feelings, wrote to Shelburne :†

"Recollection of your Lordship's late conversations, some suppositions made in consequence of them, and other circumstances, give me a good deal of uneasiness.

"To enter into the particulars of all these would make my letter long, nor is it besides necessary as you know more than I do.

"You are so entirely master of the case, and I so little (knowing only that I have not been in the least to blame, which experience has taught me at a Court signifies nothing), that I beg leave to put myself entirely into your Lordship's hands. And, for this purpose, I write this letter, lest what I have in conversation desired you to say you should think yourself obliged to at the same time that you think saying something else, or saying nothing would be the better way.

"I know your honesty and your friendship to me. Say what you please for me ; I'll make it good,

* Fox to Shelburne, September 3rd, 1761.

† Fox to Shelburne, September 5th, 1761.

or say nothing of me if you think that best, as perhaps it is at present."

Shelburne now proposed that Fox should give a general support to the Ministry, receiving at the same time the assurance which Bute was willing to give, that a peerage should at an early date be conferred on Lady Caroline. "I have written," he tells Bute,* "to Mr. Fox, simply stated what has happened, what I have promised and taken upon me in his name in the strongest manner, and desired him to call on me as soon as he comes. I can see nothing for my life in Mr. Pitt's character, which can be called a *sine quâ non*, but am astonished to find other people upon various pretences of that opinion; no one person feared but him, and now he is out of place,† every one playing a little game for themselves, temporizing and still thinking they can come about. So that if this is not stopped, or the least given into, I conceive it may have the strongest consequences, and may make a thing of no consequence very material. Your Lordship being assured of my motives will excuse my troubling you with what occurs to me. The employment of a Secretary of State is itself of no great consequence in a Ministry. The person who appears to have the principal management in the House of Commons

* Shelburne to Bute, October 6th, 1761.

† Pitt and Temple resigned in October.

must be, according to former custom at least, either Secretary of State, First Lord of the Treasury, or Chancellor of the Exchequer. Even as to the appearance the Ministry must have out of doors, it cannot well be otherwise. What Mr. Pitt cryed at, at the beginning of the last Opposition, was a cabal of nobles, &c., and it took most with the people. Both as to the House of Commons and the effect the present fixing of the Ministry must have in the opinion of the nation, I should conceive it most prudent taking up a commoner. Mr. Legge, whatever opinion your Lordship, I, or some others may have of him, is a Gold Box. One Box is out and another put in his place.

"Your Lordship must be Minister, and he explain the measures; Fox, Oswald, &c., support him in the House with as much vigour as possible. Mr. Fox by this measure brings no odium. He is still Paymaster, does not appear in affairs, and only supports one gold Box against another. Fox, whose character is whole in dealing with particulars, and much depended on, and some others—Oswald, suppose—must be the people to persuade the timid Legge to this Measure. If this is brought about, I should imagine all would be well, the House of Commons being the present great object, the rest depending on your Lordship. If the Duke of Newcastle choose to go out, you, if you did not choose

to succeed him yourself, could put Lord Hardwicke in his place. As to the Idea of your Lordship confining yourself to your Department, I should conceive it to the last degree absolutely impossible, nor can I conceive Mr. Pitt ever to be in office in your Lordship's time. In either of these cases, upon your own account, I should rather wish to see you retired from affairs, which I should be sorry to see on account of the public."

The above proposal, however, did not find favour in the eyes of Fox. He wished Lady Caroline to be made a Peeress immediately, and professing to conceive that a general support of the Ministry was tantamount to a half-opposition, he wrote in reply to Shelburne:*

"The more I think of the sort of half-Opposition mentioned, the more I think it impracticable and merely imaginary.

"To resign and oppose thoroughly, I understand and may be forced to it, but will avoid it if I can with honour. If I cannot avoid it with honour, I will get as much honour as I can by it.

"But why should I be forced to it? What I ask is not in your opinion enough, nor in mine; so far is it from being too much.

"A like favour to Lady Hester† was done the

* Fox to Shelburne, October 11th, 1761.

† Lady Hester Pitt, created Lady Chatham.

day after it was mentioned. Your Lordship ask'd me, pray ask Lord Bute whether this quite agrees with his promise? His words to you I believe were, Lady Caroline will be the first the King makes. Add to this, G. Grenville put over my head, *sans dire gare!* Surely, if I am left to digest all this, it is incumbent on me to shew that a wrong opinion has been conceived of me, and Lord Bute will have preferr'd doing a great deal to drive a friend from him, to the doing a very little to preserve one."

A day after he wrote again:*

"The more I think, the more I wish for this salve to honor, and the more I wish for it from Lord Bute in a friendly generous way, that will for ever oblige me to him. In order to get it so, say nothing that may have the least tendency to anger if disappointed. I should not like to grant to a person that should but insinuate a threat, I hope Lord Bute is of the same make.

"In that belief I wish to be his friend, and hope he does not despise me so much as not to wish it in some degree too."

An interview took place immediately after the receipt of this letter. Here is the account which Shelburne gives of it to Bute.†

* Fox to Shelburne, October 12th, 1761.

† Shelburne to Bute, October 12th, 1761.

October 12th.

MY DEAR LORD,—Read the inclosed,* and see how much I have overshot what was intended. Do not shame me as a negotiator. 'Tis impossible for me to tell you all that passed with Mr. Fox. Whatever may be my opinion with regard to opposition, I did not look on it as my business to contribute in the least to one. I therefore took up the conversation upon the footing of the inclosed note. It came to this—Mr. Fox certainly felt it as a neglect that such great attentions should be shown to the wishes of Mr. Pitt,† and Mr. Grenville put in his place with regard to the House of Commons, where Mr. Fox had hitherto been supposed to have a considerable weight, and *that* after the very strong professions he had conveyed thro' me to your Lordship, without paying any regard or attention to him. He should be very glad of some mark of the King's attention, before he submitted to this, independent of any other view, to show the world that the Pay Office was not a sufficient reason for his submitting to everything that could arrive. Your Lordship had been so good as to promise him a particular favour within the year. None appeared to him

* The two previous letters.

† The allusion is again to the peerage conferred on Lady Hester Pitt.

so easy as to grant this a little sooner upon this occasion, but still if that does not suit your Lordship, and you will send to him, and tell him that the necessities of the Administration make the one necessary as well as make the other inconvenient at this time, tho' you are still desirous of Mr. Fox's friendship, your Lordship may have as much of it as you please. And he will be ready to be of any use to you, with the same sincerity as before when he finds that your Lordship, on the one hand, does not suppose him so very interested, as he suspected you did, and, on the other, does not scruple to avow that regard for him with that degree of confidence (which is far from unbounded in his idea) which he thinks his professions of regard deserve, and which brings it pretty nearly to what your Lordship concluded with. All that I have to ask, my Lord therefore is not to expose my want of art, for I really have very little, and very little concealment with your Lordship, perhaps too little in dealing with you as a Minister, and in ticklish times. Do not therefore make me fail in being the means of uniting two persons, whom I have long since endeavoured for both their interests (and am persuaded every day will show it more and more) to cement and make connected. Mr. Fox puts off his going to Windsor, to wait on you; you will be so good therefore to send to him when you choose,

and I have only to beg that you will take up the conversation upon the footing of this letter, as I took up the conversation with him upon the footing of his note, which I received instantly as I returned home. Most sincerely yours,

SHELBURNE.

A few days after their interview Shelburne received a letter from Fox,* which said:

"Let me beg you to read over the inclosed thoughts to-morrow, before you have that conversation which will probably decide of my conduct.

"You are certainly mistaken as to the possibility of gaining any credit by partial or moderate opposition. Such might be carried on in concert with persons seemingly oppos'd, but the friendship ought to be strong and well cemented between those who oppose, and are seemingly oppos'd.

"I see no such friendship wished for with me. You have so often heard that I question whether you yourself are not of opinion that my unwillingness to oppose may proceed from interested and pecuniary views, at least in some measure. Indeed it does not, nor do those who set about that calumny believe it, for they saw me refuse the Secretaryship of State in 1754, and resign it in 1756, and I am afraid will see me resign the Pay Office, which

* Fox to Shelburne, October 20th.

when I have done, you will be sorry for it. My dear Lord, I shall not do it till forced by honour, and consequently cannot afterwards repent of it.

"I'll wait on you after or about two to-morrow. Adieu."

(*Memorandum enclosed.*)

"If Lord Bute imagines I ever thought of getting this great favour by the Duke of Cumberland without his help, he must imagine me the silliest fellow in England.

"If the message I sent his Lordship by Lord Fitzmaurice does not express Lord Bute to be in my opinion under the King sole master of the event, I do not understand English.

"The Duke of Cumberland ask'd on Thursday to be answered Sunday, not immediately.

"I could not mean to prevent Lord Bute's opposing it, for I never imagined he would. I flattered myself almost into a certainty he would assist me; and thought this manner of asking might make it more easy for him to advise and obtain a favourable answer which, upon my honour, I meant by my message to implore of His Lordship as a thing on which the happiness of my life depended; I am sorry to feel and ashamed to own how much. I understand that mortification, not that happiness is determined to be my lot for the present, perhaps for ever.

"When Lord Bute shall have read and believed what is in this paper I shall be glad to wait on His Lordship for half-an-hour, when he lets me know it will be convenient." *

Bute now became alarmed at the idea of possibly having Fox for a determined opponent, and an interview was arranged in accordance with the closing suggestion of the memorandum, at which terms were at length agreed upon.

"Lord Bute," writes Fox to Shelburne, "himself proposed to me a liberty which solves a great deal of my difficulty and which I will not abuse. I may, when I think it necessary, say that, on this being asked for me six months ago, I had such assurances given me as leave me no doubt of obtaining the favour before the end of the next session, and I think I see his Lordship will not by choice delay it to the very end. I am therefore satisfied and exceedingly obliged to your Lordship." †

Such was the agreement as to what was to be done for Fox. What Fox was to do in return may be gathered from the following letter:

Shelburne to Bute.

October 31st.

MY DEAR LORD,—I did what you desired as exactly as I could. Mr. Fox will attend every

* Fox to Shelburne, October 1761.

† Fox to Shelburne, October 1761.

day, and will, either by silence or by speaking as he finds it prudent according to the occasion, do his best to forward what your Lordship wishes, *and will enter no sort of engagement with any one else whatever*. He will endeavour likewise to see your Lordship once a week. The rest depends upon yourself, and I trust will not be neglected. A certain cultivation and cordiality will yet change what is now prudence and good sense with regard to the public, into particular attachment and an honourable zeal, which is ever to be wished for in cases of this nature; and on this occasion I have great reason to assure myself you'll find it can entangle you with fewer demands than might be reasonably expected. You will forgive me, however, if I say this is necessary,

Yours ever,

SHELBURNE.

Another recruit at this moment joined the peace party, in the person of Isaac Barré, the successor of Lord Fitzmaurice in the representation of Chipping Wycombe. The Barré family originally belonged to Rochefort in France. Peter Barré, the father of Isaac, came to Dublin in 1720, and the future orator was born in 1726. His father was a merchant, and became Sheriff of Dublin in 1756, Alderman in 1758, and was one of the Governors of the Royal Dublin

Society. His son was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, of which he became a Scholar in 1744, graduating in 1745. In his early days, according to Walpole, he acted plays with so much applause, that Garrick offered him a thousand pounds a year to come upon the stage.* Rejecting this offer he entered the army and served with distinction under Wolfe on the coast of France, where he became acquainted with Lord Fitzmaurice. He also fought at Louisburg, and was at the side of Wolfe † when the latter fell at Quebec; but, notwithstanding his services, being devoid of powerful friends, he saw himself passed over in military promotion for the benefit of less distinguished but more influential officers. Smarting under the sense of injustice he appealed to Pitt, describing his past career and the misfortunes he had suffered. "The trophies," he wrote, "I can boast, only indicate how much I suffered, my zealous and sole advocate killed, my left eye rendered useless, and the ball still in my head."‡ Pitt, with the strange recklessness which on more than one

* Walpole, "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 110.

† Barré is one of the figures in West's great picture of the death of Wolfe.

‡ Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. 41. Colonel Barré to Mr. Pitt, New York, April 28th, 1760. Sir Joshua Reynolds turns the wounded side of Colonel Barré's face away from the spectator (T. Taylor, Life of Reynolds).

occasion was the cause of his losing valuable support, refused the application, and Barré, sarcastically declaring himself "bound in the highest gratitude," returned to England. After a stormy scene with Lord Barrington, Secretary at War,* he went to Ireland on a tour of inspection of the estates of Lord Shelburne, and while in Dublin engaged himself in an angry controversy with his father on the subject of the pecuniary arrangements between them.† Meanwhile, returning to England, notwithstanding some intrigues of Lord Melcombe, he was elected for Chipping Wycombe, and was now awaiting the meeting of Parliament, the members of which were soon to become very familiar with the Colonel.‡ He is described at this period as a black robust man, of a military figure, rather hard favoured than not, young, with a peculiar distortion on one side of his face, which it seems was owing to a bullet lodged loosely in his cheek, and which gave a savage glare to one eye."§

* Barré to Shelburne, February 7th, 1761.

† Barré to Shelburne, August 13, 1761. Barré to Pitt, October 8th, 1760.

‡ Barré was at length promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel on January 29th, 1761.

§ Walpole, 'Memoirs,' vol. i. p. 109. Mr. Symmers to Sir Andrew Mitchell, 29th January, 1762, describes Barré's parents as being of a mean condition; his father and mother from France, and established in a little grocer's shop by the patronage of the Bishop of Clogher, whose child the mother nursed. The authorities for the statements given in the text are mentioned in the Preface.

"It so happened," says Lord Shelburne,* "that the election of Colonel Barré was the occasion of my becoming perfectly acquainted with Lord Melcombe's true character at my very first entrance into life. He was professedly devoted as well as myself to Lord Bute when my father died. From motives of propriety I stayed a month with my mother, and recommended by letter Colonel Barré to succeed me as member for Wycombe, where the principal people were very well disposed to accept my recommendation, and I considered the election secure, when I was surprised to hear of an underhand opposition from Mr. Willes, the son of the Chief Justice. It was a long time before I could find out his inducement, who encouraged him, or on what grounds he went. At last, to my utter astonishment, I found Lord Melcombe at the bottom of the whole. I had been in habits of intimacy with him, which naturally resulted from being both of us devoted to Lord Bute. My indignation knew no bounds. All the world was of my side. The contest was very unequal between a young man just coming into the world and an old one just going out of it. I determined never to open my lips to him. However, soon after being to walk at the coronation, the order of the procession put first Lord Lyttleton and me together, but Lady Lyttleton quickly staring her

* Autobiographical Fragment. See Preface.

husband out of countenance, from whom she had been separated some time, Lord Melcombe succeeded to his place. As we were to walk two and two I thought it stupid to pass so many hours together without speaking. I broke my resolution, and as he was more than ready on his part we conversed very freely during the whole day. In the warmth and openness of my temper I could not help asking him what could possibly tempt him to try to raise an opposition against me at Wycombe. He made the same answer as he did to Lord Bute, 'that he conceived I was too young to trouble my head about such things.' I told him that 'it was that which provoked me the most of anything, for he knew the contrary most intimately well.' 'Well,' said he, 'when did you ever know anybody get out of a great scrape but by a great lye.' After this it was impossible to 'formaliser avec lui,' and I lived afterwards upon very familiar terms with him to the time of his death. He desired Mansfield and me to introduce him into the House of Lords, telling every one as he went up the House that he asked one to get him into every scrape, the other to get him out. His *bons mots* were numberless, if they had been collected; I should not be surprised if he had collected them himself, for he was a perpetual writer and collector of political anecdote. He read me several of his speeches, which might in every sense

of the word be termed the speeches of the day. They were very fairly written over, and I have no doubt were preserved among his papers. He was a man of excellent parts but of no kind of judgment. Unsteady, treacherous, vain, with no regard to truth whenever any purpose was to be answered by it; otherways accurate, good-natured, officious, and not without something like public principle, which appeared to be more the result of opposition habits than of a sound judgment or honest determination. He was one of those people—and it is common enough—whom you see living in the world, desiring to know everything and knowing nothing, while there are others who live quite out of the world and yet know everything. He came into the world with uncommon advantages, well educated, and had travelled further and with greater observation than was usual at that time. He told me that, coming home through Brussels, he was presented to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, after her disgrace. 'She said to him, 'Young man, you come from Italy, they tell me of a new invention there called caricature drawing. Can you find me somebody that will make me a caricature of Lady Masham, describing her covered with running sores and ulcers, that I may send it to the Queen to give her a right idea of her new favourite.'"

Lord Melcombe died within a year after his

curious interference in the Chipping Wycombe election.

Shelburne having brought the negociation with Fox to a successful close expected to see it used at once for the purpose of peace, or at least for a limitation of hostilities. The counsels of the Ministry were not, however, of that unanimous character which made any firm or definite line of policy easy. Pitt and Temple had resigned on the Spanish question in October. Of those that remained Bute was desirous of peace. Newcastle was, as usual, only thinking how to keep place and power; George Grenville was discontented, suspecting possibly that the lead of the House of Commons was not to be his for long; Charles Townsend, offended at the preference given to Grenville, was once more looking to Pitt. Meanwhile outside the clamour for war continued, and the downfall of the favourite of the King and the restoration of the favourite of the people was urgently demanded. The royal speech accordingly, at the opening of Parliament, bore the mark of the necessities of the hour, promising a continuation of the policy of the late reign, and the debate on the address turned chiefly in the Upper House on the conduct of the Duke of Bedford in his real or supposed revelations to M. de Bussi during the abortive negociations of the year. Shelburne alone, disgusted at the

intrigues of Newcastle and the hesitations of Bute, pronounced boldly for the withdrawal of the troops from Germany, to the alarm of Bute, and of Fox who wrote to expostulate in the following terms:

"I saw Lord Bute. I found him more hurt than I expected with what you said in the House of Lords. I told him what you had said to me the night before, and assured him that, if he imputed it to the least decay of that affection which you bore him and which I thought as great as ever I saw from one man to another, he wronged you extremely. He seemed vexed, more afflicted than angry, and said it was imprudence that had done him mischief; that the foreign Ministers as well as others did and would think that your sentiments so delivered, unprovoked and uncalled for, were at least a trial, and as you two lived together a trial made in concert with him.

"I thought and indeed understood from you that you would see him, or you would have heard this before. Pray do see him as soon as may be. Delay between two honest men does not help reconciliation.

* * * * * *

"I have no desire to read any treatise upon honesty. It is native, not taught, honesty that I admire, of which, indeed, my dear Lord, there is

more than you at present seem to me to think there is. A man who follows his own interest, if he makes no undue sacrifices, either private or public, to the worship of it is not dishonest or even dirty. I wish your Lordship, whom I love and admire, would not be so free of thinking or calling them such. Whoever goes on with what I have left off—ambition—must wish for such supporters, and it would be an additional curse on that cursed trade to have a constant bad opinion of one's most useful friends and most assiduous attendants."*

Meanwhile, that remarkable scene had taken place in the House of Commons, so graphically described by Walpole,† when Barré attacked Pitt in language overstepping all the bounds of decency and decorum, but with an eloquence and force which carried all before them. Walpole asserts that this attack was directly promoted by Shelburne, and describes Barré as "the bravo selected by him to run down Pitt." It was not unnatural in this instance to suppose that Barré, being Shelburne's nominee at Wycombe, was inspired by him. So far, indeed, as his sentiments about the war were concerned, Barré merely uttered the same opinions as those Shelburne had previously put forward in another place, but, as regards the extraordinary ferocity of the attack,

* Fox to Shelburne, November 12th, December 29th, 1761.

† Walpole's "Memoirs," i. 120.

there is no evidence that Shelburne was a consenting party. "I find," he writes to Fox the following day,* "that Colonel Barré's conduct, however blamed, meets with partizans. You will hear what Lord Bute says of it." Colonel Barré himself gave the following account of the transaction some years after:

"When I came into Parliament Mr. Pitt though out of office, possessed the House of Commons. Administration had, it is true, a great majority, but neither cordial nor spirited enough to produce one single man who would step forth and attack the insolent opposer of their measures. I took upon myself the dangerous and invidious task. A few days after I was pressed to go to Court, nay, it was urged as a measure. I obeyed, and there was honoured with more than common attention. I was soon universally pointed at as a most extraordinary probationer in parliamentary business, but being unfortunately a volunteer, as such I remained unnoticed and unrewarded. *En politique malhabile*, I had stipulated no terms, and of course met with that coldness which will ever be shewn to parliamentary spirit, unassisted by parliamentary intrigue."†

Fox, in order to quiet the apprehensions of

* Shelburne to Fox, December 12th, 1761.

† Barré to Shelburne, April 18th, 1763.

Shelburne, assured him that "Lord Bute had no idea that carrying on the German war was compatible with what they had to do besides,"* alluding to the war with Spain, which had just been declared, nor was Pitt himself unaware of the power of the weapon which had thereby been placed in the hands of the Peace party, for he was heard to say in conversation "That now was the time; if those he had left had any spirit, which they had not," said he, "they would send and recall every man from Germany and so ruin me—but there's no danger of it."†

Bedford alone "had the spirit," and decided, on the reassembling of Parliament, though himself a colleague of Bute, to move a resolution as an amendment to the address. "The Duke of Bedford," writes Fox,‡ "has in form declared his resolution to move, as soon as the House meets, for the recall of the troops from Germany. Lord Bute is of the same opinion, but as it should seem not in concert with the Duke of Bedford. The Duke of Newcastle and the Duke of Devonshire firm on the other side." Shelburne resolved to support Bedford, and informed Fox that such was his intention. Fox replied in these terms:

* Shelburne to Bute, December 1761.

† Fox to Bute, Shelburne, January 1762.

‡ Fox to Shelburne, January 8th, 1762.

"I think the Duke of Bedford's motion will suit very well with the mode you propose to debate in. What His Grace's mode of debating it will be, I neither know nor can anybody direct. I fancy it will be full and entering into past, present, and to come; but probably taking care not to censure the measure *ab origine* too much, because, though your Lordship did not, His Grace did, at times at least, acquiesce in it.

"The motion speaks of the enormous expense, impossibility of having an army equal to the French, or of carrying on the war in Germany to any good purpose, of the great use the men and money employ'd there might be to the carrying on the wars we yet are engaged in, and must carry on with vigour against France and Spain to support publick credit, and to bring about a safe and honourable peace.

"These are not the words exactly, but I think it precisely the sense of the question.

"The only mode necessary to be settled among you, I think is, whether you will divide against the previous question, and that can't be judg'd of quite well, but in the House. As to the mode of debating, follow your own; it never happen'd that three or four speakers ever kept to the same. And if they agreed to do so, two or three of them would speak the worse for it. You'll speak very well, and

I am glad it will not be against this Ministry, and I'll come and hear you. Lady Caroline is better, not well. You are the first man that ever went into the country on a cold day, because he had taken medicines."*

Shelburne in this speech, his second Parliamentary effort, insisted on the necessity of supporting public credit, now grievously injured; the sums which ought to have been spent in paying off debt having been consumed in military expenditure, while at the same time the fleet, on which the security of the country mainly depended, had been comparatively neglected.† The resolution carried to a division, as against the previous question, was negatived by 105 to 16, and eight of the minority, Shelburne amongst them, signed a protest against the decision of the House. This speech and protest threw Bute into a state of despondency and alarm. "Lord Bute," writes Fox, "says that Friday sennight gave delight and strength to his enemies at Court. I do not see why it should, but it is the real opinion of many very impartial people."‡ "Lord Shelburne," writes Jenkinson, is a mad politician."§

"Lord Bute," writes Shelburne in his own defence,

* Fox to Shelburne, February 4th, 1762.

† "Parliamentary History," vol. xv. p. 1217.

‡ Fox to Shelburne, February 13th, 1761.

§ Jenkinson to Bute, February 14th, 1761.

"very unnecessarily, as well as very imprudently was induced to defend a measure in which he was in no way concerned, and which he was well known to disapprove. He had the conscience, notwithstanding what I had declared the first day, to ask me first to vote with government, and then to stay away, and to affect being very much hurt with my conduct afterwards. The minority did not consist of more than sixteen,* who were all, however, distinguished the next day at Court by marks of the King's personal displeasure; a measure of a piece with all the rest, and which made the King's resentment as cheap as his favours had lately been made."†

Matters did not wear a more promising aspect in the House of Commons, where Mr. Bunbury, who had once already spoken strongly against the war, was threatening a motion for a cessation of hostilities in Germany, which it was understood was to receive the support of Barré.

Fox exerted his utmost influence to procure a

* See "Parliamentary History," vol. xv. p. 1218. Walpole, "Memoirs," i. p. 136, says that the Duke of Bedford softened his motion from a proposal of recalling the troops from Germany into a resolution of the ruinous impracticability of carrying on the war. Had the Duke of Bedford done this, it would not have made his motion less but more hostile to Ministers. As a matter of fact he did nothing of the kind.

† Memorandum on events of 1762.

reconciliation, and a withdrawal of Mr. Bunbury's motion.

"Pushing it now," he writes to Shelburne, "in the House of Commons, will certainly be imputed to you, and all this gives me great concern.* Indeed, my dear Lord, you never judg'd better for yourself than in trying to dissuade.† Lord Digby, who says little, hears a great deal, and is impartial as man can be, is of the opinion I wrote you this morning. Lord Bute is hurt, many think he ought to be so. And you push it, for when you shall have tryed ever so much to dissuade it, it will be called your doing. Lord Digby takes likewise a coolness between the Duke of Bedford and Lord Bute into consideration. Mr. McKenzie very friendlily advised me to speak lest I should be said to be corspiring with the Duke of Bedford in a measure so detrimental to Lord Bute."‡

It will be seen that Fox was successful in his efforts.

* February 13th, 1762.

† March, 1762.

‡ March, 1762. On the withdrawal of Mr. Bunbury's motion Mr. Fox wrote the following epigram:

"A cock-match at Westminster lately was made,
The cock-pit was crowded, great wagers were laid;
The people impatient heard at last that the Fox,
Had stole over night both the beautiful cocks."

Fox to Shelburne.

February 13th.

MY DEAR LORD,—Mr. Bunbury was here this morning, and with good nature and good sense, for his friends' sake, not his own, though I truly think it is best for him too, consented to put off his motion.

I immediately wrote the following letter to Lord Bute: "MY LORD,—I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that Mr. Bunbury has laid aside his intended motion. It is still a greater satisfaction to me, that Lord Shelburne is the person who has dissuaded him. His Lordship, who loves you sincerely, is so struck with the appearance of acting as if he did not, that, though he says and thinks there has not been the least ground for the suggestion, he cannot bear to give any further room for such an insinuation. I am, &c., HENRY FOX."

This is my letter to Lord Bute, which, if I had been better, would have been better, and I should have said "*imputation*" instead of "*appearance.*" But I think it can do no harm, will do good I hope.

H. F.

Meanwhile the long wished for peerage was about to be conferred on Lady Caroline Fox.

Fox to Shelburne.

February 1762.

My dear Lord,—Lord Bute said it would be in the course of this session, and I have not the least doubt of it. He thought the session might end before Easter, but I hear that the necessary business will make it last beyond that period, so that you see the time is to a degree uncertain. I have told your Lordship all I know of it, but must not mention it without a thousand thanks.

Adieu.

H. F.

Fox to Bute.

March 1762.

My Lord,—I went to Lord Egmont, who desires to be Lord Lovel and Holland, Baron of Enmore, in the county of Somerset, which neither in his Lordship's opinion or in mine, is any objection to Lady Caroline being Lady Holland, Baroness of Holland, in the county of Lincoln, and Foxley, in the county of Wilts.* May I beg that Lady Caroline's warrant may be signed when any of the rest are, that she may not lose that precedence which His Majesty, perhaps intends should be

* The creation did not actually take place till May 6th, 1762.

regulated according to the present rank of those to whom he grants this great favour.

I am, with the greatest respect and gratitude,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful, humble servant,

H. Fox.

"After the debate on the address, the rest of the session," wrote Lord Shelburne many years after,* "passed without anything remarkable till the Vote of Credit, which became the subject of very material differences. The Duke of Newcastle, then at the head of the Treasury, and his Chancellor of the Exchequer† thought it necessary to ask two millions on account of the great expenses which were apprehended from the continuance of the German war, which the Duke of Newcastle took for granted, and really was so personally engaged in, that it was impossible for him with any degree of consistency to see it tamely given up. Lord Bute, who was of a different opinion with regard to Germany, and who talked as if he was determined to recall the troops or make the peace, and was hard pushed by the Duke of Bedford to this (whose friendship he was obliged to court, notwithstanding what had passed), as well as some other of his friends who

* Memorandum on the events of 1762.

† Lord Barrington.

were determined to continue their opposition to it, thought therefore a single million sufficient. Mr. Grenville, who was intrusted chiefly in the House of Commons, and the other Lords of the Treasury were strongly for asking only a single million. Lord Bute alleged it to those who were of opinion against the German war as a proof of the sincerity of his intention in that respect; but as men mostly are not without two motives, and men of his character especially, one which they tell the world and at last persuade themselves is the true one, the other, which they scarce venture to own to their own minds, I should imagine one of the latter kind operated on this occasion, which weighed somewhat in the resolution of turning out the Duke, viz., that he panted for the Treasury.

"As for Mr. Grenville, the peevishness of his temper led him to wish to have the Duke of Newcastle out. His narrowness made him really of opinion for the single minute, and eager in it, and besides, he wished to be higher, which he might have been before when Mr. Pitt went out, if his timidity and confusion had not made him prefer the half-measure. At first, the Duke of Newcastle, staggered with the defection at his own Board, declared he could not brook the affront; he was taken at his word; he was ready afterwards to

retract, notwithstanding what he had said, and make every sort of submission, and actually offered it through Lord Mansfield,* but it was all refused. He might have had a pension, but that the Duke of Cumberland, as was generally supposed, prevailed on him not to accept, or at least to decline asking it. Lord Bute was named his successor; Mr. Grenville, Secretary of State, for which he was not fit, not Chancellor of the Exchequer, for which he was at least better qualified than any other person that was likely; Lord Barrington, Treasurer of the Navy; and Sir F. Dashwood, Chancellor of the Exchequer. By this two brothers-in-law became Secretaries of State† together in this critical moment; neither of them famed for integrity or for knowledge of foreign affairs, or for that sort of right-headedness which makes people of superior understandings submit to be convinced by those in whom the world has more confidence. On the Duke of Newcastle's going out of office Lord Hardwicke and the Duke of Devonshire left the Cabinet. The latter says he explained it to the King, who consented to his

* The Duke of Newcastle's repentance is the general subject of observation. He has likewise, by Lord Mansfield and every means possible, made advances towards a reconciliation, which has been declined in the strongest manner. (Shelburne to Fox, May 20th, 1762.)

† The Earl of Egremont was the colleague of George Grenville as Secretary of State.

keeping the Chamberlain's staff on those terms. About this time some civil compliments that had passed through the Sardinian Ambassador between the two nations in relation to the Count d'Estaing, a prisoner sent from the East Indies to Europe under some particular circumstances, gave rise to a new negociation of peace, the first advances being made by the Duke of Choiseul. They were carried on for a considerable time very boldly and very secretly by Lord Bute without any other person, through the Count de Viri,* who was mediator, as the other Sardinian Ambassador† was with M. de Choiseul at Paris. The Count de Viri was really a politician, he professed it, thought of nothing else; was an artful, assiduous, observant, prudent man; had the greatest spirit of intrigue that can be conceived perpetually working, with a good deal of experience, having been in two republics before, Berne and Holland; he had been here for five years, and knew everybody perfectly, and was well with everybody: but Lord Bute and his brother were perfectly known by him in every respect as to their tempers, their views, and their abilities, and he knew, therefore, what was

* This secret negotiation began on November 17th, 1761, and continued with intervals till 22nd May, 1763. There is a complete copy of the correspondence in the Lansdowne House MSS., partly in cypher.

† M. le Bailli Solar de Breille.

for their interests much better than they did themselves. The style this was carried on in till such time as Lord Bute opened it to the Council must do Lord Bute the greatest honour as a Minister. It is not fair to examine too nicely how far accident on either side helped, or how far the abilities of Count Viri, or even the very failings of Lord Bute's character might have led him thus far in it, but in affairs of this high nature the event ought to go a great way, as it would have operated on the judgments of most very strongly if it had through any accident failed. Happy that the plant was strong in its first appearance, else it must have quickly drooped, for Lord Bute's abilities were by no means so successful in the arrangements he had made at home as they were in the negociations he was carrying on abroad. The Council, though now entirely composed of persons of his creating almost, or at least more than preferring, and loaded with a number of favours obtained of the King through him, yet whether it was owing to his neglect of them afterwards, or his not improving that groundwork of kindnesses into real friendship or attachment by living with them and communicating with them, which he scarce did at all, or to the ill choice he had made, this is certain that they were all separated into little cabals and different ways of thinking quite independent of him; perpetually hearkening to each other's

fears, which of course left their minds very unfit to take measures, which though right and necessary, might reasonably be expected to be attended with the greatest odium and the most severe abuse. The Duke of Bedford, however, whose rage for peace continued, and whose opinion carried weight with it in Council because he was determined it should do so, facilitated everything to a great degree; Mr. Grenville too, luckily, was ill some part of the time.

"It is not easy to give a just idea of the character of the Earl of Bute, as it consisted of several real contradictions and more apparent ones, with no small mixture of madness in it.* His bottom was that of any Scotch Nobleman, proud, aristocratical, pompous, imposing, with a great deal of superficial knowledge such as is commonly to be met with in France and Scotland, chiefly upon matters of Natural Philosophy, Mines, Fossils, a smattering of Mechanicks, a little Metaphysicks, and a very false taste in everything. Added to this he had a gloomy sort of madness which had made him affect living alone, particularly in Scotland, where he resided some years in the Isle of Bute, with as much pomp and as much uncomfortableness in his little domestick circle, as if he had been King of the

* This character was written many years after the events to which the chapter relates (probably in 1803) which accounts for the bitterness of some of the expressions used, Bute and Fox having both long since quarrelled with Shelburne.

Island, Lady Bute a forlorn queen, and his children slaves of a despotick tyrant. He read a great deal, but it was chiefly out of the waybooks of Science and pompous Poetry. Lucan was his favourite poet among the ancients, and Queen Elizabeth's Earl of Essex, his favourite author and object of imitation. He admired his letters, and had them almost by heart. He excelled most in writing, of which he appeared to have a great habit. He was insolent and cowardly, at least, the greatest political coward I ever knew. He was rash and timid, accustomed to ask advice of different persons, but had not sense and sagacity to distinguish and digest, with a perpetual apprehension of being governed, which made him, when he followed any advice, always add something of his own in point of matter or manner, which sometimes took away the little good which was in it or changed the whole nature of it. He was always upon stilts, never natural except now and then upon the subject of women. He felt all the pleasure of power to consist either in punishing or astonishing. He was ready to abandon his nearest friend if attacked, or to throw any blame off his own shoulders. He could be pleasant in company when he let, and did not want for some good points, so much as for resolution and knowledge of the world to bring them into action. He excelled as far as I could observe in managing the interior of

a Court, and had an abundant share of art and hypocrisy. This made all the first part of his *rôle* easy.

"He panted for the Treasury, having a notion that the King and he understood it from what they had read about revenue and funds while they were at Kew. He had likewise an idea of great reformations, which all men who read the theory of things, and especially men who look up at being Ministers, and want to remove and lower those that are, make a great part of their conversation. He had likewise a confused notion of rivalling the Duc de Sully, all which notions presently vanished when he came to experience the difficulties of it, and to find that dealing with mankind was the first thing necessary of which he began to find himself entirely incapable."

Such being the opinion which Shelburne was gradually beginning to form of the character of the First Lord of the Treasury, it is not surprising that he was not very anxious to take office with him, though at the same time obliged to allow that he was necessary at the moment, the only possible alternative being the Newcastle Whigs, with or without Pitt, of which the first meant the continuation of the war, and the second implied the rule of an oligarchy of exclusive incompetence. He accordingly refused the offers which Bute at this time made to him, though they were supported by the urgent entreaties of Fox to whom he explained his present attitude in the following letter:

Shelburne to Fox.

May 20th, 1762.

DEAR SIR.—Lord Bute desired me to name what I wished, which I declined, declaring that emolument was not my object, no more than my turn was to live a mere attendant upon a Court; in which I could not help differing from Lord Talbot, who is desirous to remain where he is, and never to be of a Cabinet nor consulted upon business, but always ready to act for the personal service of the King or Lord Bute. Men of independent fortune should be trustees between King and people, and contrive to think in whatever they do to be occupied in actions of service to both, without being slaves to either. It will rest here I hope till I see you. I wish Lady Holland joy of your being better,—since I am sure she will be the happier by it. The town air is still unwholesome, and though Lord Bute wishes you to be in town on account of politicks, I do not want you to hurry on account of your health till rain puts an end to this unhealthy state of the air.

Ever yours,

SHELBURNE.

Who, in the House of Commons, can be Chancellor of the Exchequer?

Fox replied in these terms:

May 23.

My Dear Lord.—I shall be in town a few hours after this letter, but I may not see you till you have had another opportunity which, by this letter, I do conjure you not to lose. You'll say, what shall I ask for? Ask for any place, Lord of the Bedchamber, or of the Treasury with a promise of being of the Plenipotentiaries at a Peace, either at Augsbourg or elsewhere. This will lead directly to what I suppose you aim at and perhaps soon. You'll never get it from that Trusteeship that you speak of; nor to say truth should you get it till you have got rid of such, to say no worse of them, puerile notions. I am not wiser than you, my Lord, but I am older. Don't think you have taken my advice if you get the promise without the place. It is in place that I long to see you; and it is the place-man, not the independent Lord, that can do his country good.

"Tell me when I see you on Tuesday that you have a place, no matter what, and the promise above-mentioned. Lord Talbot may be in the right. I don't know him enough to say otherwise, but he is a great deal older than you are, and I don't know that he has such powers as I think I see in you, if you were once well broke in. Get your harness on immediately.

"I have known Rigby these twenty years. He can feel an obligation, and when oblig'd may be entirely confided in. He has spirit, is ready, and will soon, if I don't mistake, be the most popular speaker in the House of Commons. I am heartily glad for Lord Bute's sake, that he will engage him. To serve Lord Bute I would come to town from the Land's End; but as it is, I am very sorry to leave this place,* which suits so very well both my mind and body. I have therefore thoughts of returning, Wednesday or Thursday, for four or five days to the ladies, who stay here till they hear whether I can or no. To your question, who, in the House of Commons, can be Chancellor of the Exchequer, I suppose Sir Frederick Dashwood. Is there any objection to that? I see none. If there is, the Prime Minister being at the head of the Treasury, and Mr. Grenville a Minister in the House of Commons, it were no hard matter to find expedients for the Exchequer. I shall be at the Pay Office not at Holland House. Adieu.

Yours ever,

H. Fox.

P.S. Reading this letter over, I could wish you dar'd show it to Lord Bute.

Meanwhile the negociations for peace were

* Kingsgate.

progressing, but before the preliminaries could be signed the news of the capture of the Havannah was likely to arrive. It was felt that public opinion would not suffer this important stronghold to be surrendered without an equivalent; already the rumoured stipulations of peace were freely compared to the "infamous stipulations of Utrecht," the constant object of the denunciations of Pitt, whose powerful voice was certain to echo within the walls of Parliament the clamour that was rising without. Bute "was in no way concerned as to the event of the Havannah influencing the enemy, but somewhat so as to the effect it might have on the friends of the Government, and looked on it as a want of attention in the French, not to foresee the possibility of that,"* but he too had his moments of doubt and perplexity. "Two things hung on him, one as to Spain, whether the affair of the Logwood would not be considered as a cession, and too much, if the Havannah were taken; the other, as to a cessation of arms in Germany, being apprehensive that, if the preliminaries were laid aside Prince Ferdinand might cry out that he had lost the moment;" but Shelburne urged him not to allow "any considerations connected with Germany to make his Council waver with regard to the most desirable of objects, peace on the present con-

* Shelburne to Fox, August 10th, 1762.

ditions,"* and while expressing his regret for his own friends in that country, he continued "to represent to the Prime Minister every time he saw him, that there was not a moment to be lost either in signing the peace on in assuring himself of a competent majority in the House of Commons to support him." † Bute was also much perplexed as to the best method of bringing the peace before Parliament, whether to lay the preliminaries before it though not confirmed by a Treaty or wait for the confirmation,‡ a difficult question involving a discussion of the Treaty-making power in the country, as to which much difference of opinion has existed at all times.§

* Shelburne to Fox, September 1st. The allusion is to the demolition of the English forts in Honduras in return for the concession of the right to cut logwood.

† Shelburne to Bute, August 30th.

‡ Shelburne to Fox, September 1st; September 18th.

§ Compare Pitt's speech, November 9th, 1762, and Mr. Gladstone's, "Hansard," vol. ccix. February 14th, 1873. Fox, writing to Bute on October 4th, says, "I should be glad in this ugly situation to have the sense of Parliament, not for security, but to remove difficulties. The objection of its letting down Government is obviated by its having been done before, and in times when prerogative was carried high, and it would obviate the great difficulty, because the greatest coward would sign what the Parliament authorized without considering that he was not secured by it. But now, on the other hand, not seeing the precedent, I cannot imagine how the sense of Parliament can be taken; and by taking it you subject yourself to as many questions

On this and other questions connected with the peace Shelburne was not only consulted by Bute, but was the person through whom the latter corresponded with Fox, then in his retreat on the sea coast. The two following letters addressed to Shelburne depict the hermit of Kingsgate as drawn by himself:

Fox to Shelburne.

August 16th.

My dear Lord,—I won't thank you for the Honour of your Letter, but for what I value much more, the pleasure and satisfaction of finding myself remember'd by you in a place where I am delightfully forgetting myself and thought myself forgot by everybody. Lady Holland thanks you, and says it is indeed very pleasant in this quiet unmolested place, to think of the hurry and crowds

as there are articles in the preliminaries, and if any one question is carried or not defeated by a great majority the whole is marred, unless France and Spain, who I believe will not like to see their offer presented to the House of Commons *sub spe rati*, will go farther and submit to our alterations of it. How difficult will it be to keep the attention of a number of men upon the whole, through so many questions on particular articles? Friends, I should fear, would leave us on some. From the nature of opposition none from the other side would come to us on any; and, upon the whole, I have no idea of a House of Commons turned into a Council of State. What then is my opinion? I told you I could give none."

she is not in. But so very many love a crowd, that she says you must impute to that alone, and not to adulation that you see so many at Court on every occasion. I fancy she is in the right. Charles has not yet found out what you want him to show me in Rousseau. For my own part, sea air gives me Appetite, Sleep, and Spirits; I am very happy, and continually amused, and with trifles that can lead to nothing sad and serious. Forty years hence may your Lordship be even as I now am. I have given the precedence, as indeed I do the preference, to domestic affairs.

* * * * * *

I don't know when you saw Lord Bute, but should it have been the 14th; I fear his Lordship must have been mistaken (though so sure) that a Messenger would come that night—I hope he is not in his other certainty, of Peace. And yet, as far as it turns on Monsieur de Grimaldi, what hopes are there from one who is an utter enemy to peace and to Choiseul? Are you so sure of Havannah? I am glad if you are, but I grieve to hear of difficultys that may arise from friends. These are not only the most grating, but the most fatal, too, of all difficultys; upon the whole I fear there must be an answer, and a good one from Spain to France before France will send one to

England that will be satisfactory. However, the firmer and the more sanguine Lord Bute is, the better. I should have been very sorry to see his enemys so sanguine, as I own they were when I left town, if I did not believe there was very little foundation for their being so. However, so much attention should be paid to it that, if you please, you may advise Lord Bute from me to make sure of as many individuals as may be engaged between this and the meeting of the House of Commons, and many may be more easily engaged than they can be after it is met.

* * * * * * *

If there is firmness and courage without contempt of danger, things will go on very well; but then I depend on a firmness that may fix those enemys, his friends.

Ever yours,

H. Fox.

Fox to Shelburne.

September 4th.

My dear Lord.—I wished your Lordship a place because I wished to see you fixed, and no more exposed to those gusts which youth and spirit and a noble mind, are so apt to be carry'd out of the way by. But now the storm is raised, the violence

with which it is directed at Lord Bute, will, if I know your Lordship, fix you most thoroughly. And you so little want, and so little like those *agrémments* of a place which are so tempting to most other people, that I can be content now to see you wait till your first may be a very great employment, to which a steady course (as yours will now be) cannot fail to bring you. I was very glad to be so kindly remembered by your Lordship, but I must have expressed my thoughts very ill if I conveyed to your Lordship (what Mr. Selwyn understood from you) that I complained that my friends had forgot me. Indeed I have no reason for such complaint. He assures me my enemies don't forget me either. I could wish they would, but I wish it with so little anxiety, that if they knew how small a diminution they make of my happiness at Kingsgate, they would not give themselves the trouble they do. Your letter of September 1st, surprises me a little by the "*If the Preliminarys succeed*," which is more than once repeated; because I don't see a possibility of receding were we inclined to it. You do not say what the affair of the logwood is, so I can make no judgment of it. If it is only an immediate cession of these settlements, which we have no sort or pretence of right to, I think it to our honour.

A cessation of arms, if the preliminarys are

as fixed as I imagined, cannot be a question. If indeed we are only treating with a probability of being forced to declare off and continue the war, it is another question and what I am no judge of. But upon the whole it is easy, even at this distance, to see that no terms of Peace would either lessen or increase the clamour. It is aimed at Lord Bute, not at his measures, and which is shameful, many who approve the Peace will join in opposing it as a means of destroying him. But I hope every step will be taken and endeavour used, to weather this storm: it will be weathered and halcyon days succeed, that is such halcyon days as Ministers can have.

Ever yours,

H. Fox.

The capture of the Havannah was known in England by the end of September.* The Spaniards, before the news arrived, had been delaying the signature of the preliminaries, under which they were required to concede all the three points which they had used as their pretext for declaring war, viz., the legality of the captures made by English cruisers, the right of the English logwood cutters in Honduras, and those of the Spanish fishermen off Newfoundland. Grimaldi was now as anxious

* Egremont to Bedford, September 29th, 1762.

as he had previously been unwilling to sign, but, on the other hand, all the English Ministers, with the exception of Bute, were unanimously in favour of asking a territorial equivalent for the retrocession of the Havannah. It was in vain that Bedford declared that this demand would be fatal to the whole negociation.* The fear of Pitt was ever present in the English Cabinet, and the cession of Florida or Porto Rico was accordingly insisted upon,† and the former obtained without the difficulties anticipated by Bedford. In America, France ceded to England the vallies of the Ohio and Mississippi, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, everything in fact for which she had contended in the last war, only retaining some very strictly limited rights of fishery off Newfoundland and in the gulf of St. Lawrence.

In the East Indies, France only recovered the small possessions she had had on the 1st January, 1749. In the West Indies, England retained Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada, and, in Africa, Senegal. In Europe the works of Dunkirk were to be again demolished; Belleisle was given up by England in exchange for Minorca, while both England and France withdrew from the German war, and the French restored the German territories of the English King as well as those of

* Bedford to Egremont, October 11th, 1762.

† Egremont to Bedford, October 26th, 1762.

Hesse, Cleves, and Gueldres. Such were the preliminaries of peace which Granville, the greatest authority on foreign politics in England, pronounced on his death-bed to be "glorious and most honourable,"* though if Bute had had his own way some important advantages would have been lost. Nor was the Treaty that betrayal of Prussia which it is sometimes represented to have been, for the withdrawal of France from Germany more than compensated that of England. Prussia besides was no longer at the time the victim of the great coalition, Russia and Sweden having already made peace with her during the year.

But though thus far successful, Bute was aware that he was only at the beginning of his task. The preliminaries were to be laid before Parliament, and it was necessary to have a leader in the House of Commons better able than Grenville to defend them against the attacks to which they were sure to be exposed. Bute hoping to induce Fox to undertake the ungrateful task, once more commissioned Shelburne to negociate on his behalf, holding out a peerage as the reward which Fox was to receive for his services. The negociation was at once entered on, and Shelburne, before the close of the month, wrote to Bute "that every step

* See the well known passage in the preface to the Essay on Homer by Mr. Wood.

possible was taken to prepossess Fox in favour of what was proposed, and that he did not think he could refuse taking on him the lead of the House of Commons."* At the same moment that Bute was looking for a leader, he had also to find a new Secretary of State, for Grenville had resigned the seals in consequence of the differences of opinion which existed between himself and his chief on the subject of the peace.† The seals were in consequence offered to Fox with the lead of the House. After considering these offers Fox embodied his own opinion on them in a memorandum which he sent to Shelburne through Calcraft, running in these terms:

"Secretary of State I cannot be; it would be adding much other business to what without it I can hardly go through.

"Let Lord Bute divest himself of any idea that I am thinking of the Duke of Cumberland's wishes in what I propose. I shall never mention it again. I would no more have the King bend the knee to the Duke of Cumberland than to any other man, and to save him from such disgrace, I would undertake anything that I could go through with; and

* Shelburne to Bute, September 1762.

† From a letter of Calcraft to Shelburne, it would seem as if Grenville had been threatened by Bute with the loss of his place for not voting in the Cabinet for giving up the Havannah without an equivalent, and had resigned in consequence, but the language is obscure. October 23rd, 1762.

He may command me in what there is a possibility of my doing.

"To undertake and fail would be making His Majesty's disgrace sure. Mine, upon my word, I do not think of. I will make two suppositions: suppose the Seals given to Charles Townshend, a Peace made, to be defended in the House of Commons; in the next place, suppose if friends as well as foes are drunk with success, or stunned with clamour, and this peace will not go down, the German Troops should be recalled immediately and War continued against Spain and France, and Portugal defended, till we grow wiser.

"These suppositions spring from my opinion that Lord Bute should not treat with the Duke of Newcastle. I am clear that a notion of Lord Bute's meeting in any way with him will weaken Lord Bute, and treating with him will end in nothing else, for he will be intractable.

"Short of being Secretary of State, I am, for the necessary time, at His Majesty's Service. But let it be well considered before I am called upon to try what, if it fails, will do His Majesty great harm. I will risk a great deal indeed to have the honour of doing him any good."

A few days after sending the above paper, Fox wrote to Shelburne:

"You'll look on the confused Paper I sent you

by Calcraft, I hope not as an answer or to be shewn as such, but for your Lordship to think upon, and to talk out of, if you think fit. It was as this is, pouring out the thoughts, as they arise, of a mind very anxious about the cruel situation the King is in, the dangers that press upon the country, and the small hope there is from the means proposed to extricate both. I have all your Lordship's feelings; I vow to God I do not, I will not consider myself, or the Duke of Cumberland further than to grieve that I knew him so little. My disposition is what you would wish it, but my opinion is very different; and what I said in my last and am going to say in this, ought to be well considered. Can I do any good, may I not do a great deal of harm? And if the experiment fails, the King is lost, and what a King! Indeed, my Lord, it ought to be well weigh'd and examined over and over again before His Honour is trusted to so weak, however willing, a support. I think, and am not singular in thinking, that you will not get one vote more than you have already by my change of situation. Everybody I can think of influencing, you have already. My abilities, which you are pleased to reckon upon, will be no greater than they are. And though you thought it paradoxical, I still think it true that abilities will not signify much. The additional

load of unpopularity I shall bring to Lord Bute will more than overbalance them, and the more conspicuous I am made, the less use it may be I shall be of.

"I expect a return to my express sent my brother, to-morrow. I expect to see the Duke of Cumberland, my conversation with him shall remove all doubts, if there are still any, of my being warp'd up to his opinion. And till Monday therefore, I cannot wait on Lord Bute, who I hope will in the meantime, take into consideration what you shall please to tell him out of these two papers.

"Does not your Lordship begin to fear that there are but few left of any sort, of our friends even, who are for this peace? I own I do." *

The interview with the Duke of Cumberland took place on October 11th. The Duke proposed that Bute, after having received the most conspicuous marks of royal favour in the shape of rank and titles, should then retire from the Treasury in favour of Fox. This proposal Fox—much to his credit—refused to entertain, and the connection between him and Cumberland was in consequence finally severed. In his perplexity he then applied for advice to his friend Mr. Nicholl,† who strongly

* Fox to Shelburne, October 10th.

† Mr. Nicholl is frequently mentioned in the letters of Horace Walpole, whose intimate friend he was. Vol. v. pp. 416, 448, 463,

urged him to take the seals as necessary to the dignity of a leader of the House of Commons, not First Lord of the Treasury. Fox remaining unconvinced, Mr. Nicholl returned to the charge. "My heart," he said,* "is so anxious for the success of what you are on the brink of sacrificing, your ease, quiet, credit, and health to effect, that I persuade myself you will pardon though you should not agree with me in what I presume once again just to mention before you take your final determination.

"You are called upon to carry a point of the greatest moment that can be to the nation and to the King; what it is thought cannot be done, but in a way that would be a disgrace to His Majesty, unless you avowedly undertake it.

"To induce you to do it, Lord Shelburne, Mr. Rigby, Calcraft, and others of your friends say that you have only to set up the standard and lead the

467. His son is to be recognised in the following passage: "I was excessively amused on Tuesday night There was a play at Holland House acted by children—not *all* children, for Lady Sarah Lennox and Lady Susan Strangways played the women. It was 'Jane Shore.' Mr. Price—Lord Barrington's nephew—was Gloster and acted better than three parts of the comedians. Charles Fox, Hastings, a little Nicholl, who spoke well, Belmour, &c.

* From a copy at Lansdowne House where the letter is wrongly attributed to Colonel Barré. The original is at Holland House.

way, the troops will follow; that the general good opinion of men is with you, that they will then believe there is something solid and to be relied on, and that the Administration will be steady and permanent. In all which I most perfectly agree with them, but I fear I differ from them and you too, as to the best mode of your operations.

"The effect expected from your appearance in this matter is to be the consequence of, or founded upon, the general opinion and the idea men have form'd of your character. It may then be worth while for a moment to examine that idea, and discover distinctly the parts of which it is composed, that when you stand forth you may be seen, if possible, in that light, that precise point of view, these minds have placed you in, that the original may be as like the picture as may be.

"Mr. Fox then," say they, "is tried and experienced in Administration; he knows well what to do, and we know he has abilities to do it, he is open, plain, and honest—we can trust him, he is decisive and steady, and will put an end to the wretched fluctuation of Men and Measures, that has so long distracted all things."

"Here Lord Shelburne, &c., end. But if I mistake not much, the idea the world have of you is not here complete; something more is wanting to come up to that Picture of Mr. Fox men

have in their mind's eye when they hold this language of him. The place (from whence they suppose him to be able to exert to the utmost his known and approved qualities) is ever connected with it.

"The irresolution and weakness of these times, lamented by all good and honest men, decryed by good and bad, are by all constantly compared to those of more order and steadiness, when measures and men were more solid and permanent. In this discourse their thoughts are naturally carried back to that time all remember when Sir R. Walpole and Mr. Pelham were First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Minister of the House of Commons, and here, if I am not deceived, the world see Mr. Fox when they look up to him.

"Here every difficulty would vanish. The greatest impediment, that natural radical prejudice against the man, that virulent sore that taints and discolours all his measures would be covered over,—the trifling objection to the Pay Office, and every other removed. Here I am convinced (could it be) Mr. Fox would infallibly carry this and every other point. But in the middle way proposed, which I fear may be looked on when known as but an Half-Measure, my poor weak judgment is in some doubt of the event.

"Where this shoe would pinch was you to try to put your foot into it I can imagine, and would say a great deal too, but that I think you will again say 'That is not the question put to me—nor would I go to the Treasury were it offered.' If so I have done. You know infinitely best. I can never think that right you do not. Let my affection for you and solicitude for your interest plead my excuse for troubling you with what I could never have excused myself, if I had not done it."

The nature of Mr. Fox's reply to the propositions of his friend may be gathered from the following letter addressed to him by Shelburne:

Shelburne to Fox.

Hill Street, Monday Night, October 1762.

DEAR SIR,—Lord Bute very much admires even my account of your conversation with the Duke of Cumberland, and is much satisfied with it.

I mentioned Mr. Nicholl's letter, &c., as follows:—That I conceived what had passed very thoroughly convinced him, not only of your desire, to have done soon, but your wishes to do it immediately, if it were possible; that in a matter of this sort, I thought it must be agreeable to him to hear everybody's sentiments; that I conceived

the Treasury a political wife, which every man should determine about himself, and a matter upon which it became not a friend even to advise, nor give his sentiments except upon a footing of confidence, which I took the liberty to do, with a view to discharge my mind of everything that occurred to it, for his or the King's interest; that I looked upon it as his duty to look on modesty with regard to himself as out of the question, for whoever looked now upon anything relating to him and his honour, as distinct or separate from the King's interest must be led, to say no worse, to form a very wrong judgment, upon the present or future state of things. With this view, I communicated to him what occurred to myself, and likewise Mr. Nicholl's letter. He was much pleased with the latter, and praised it much, and desired me to leave it with him till to-morrow.

He asked what you yourself thought; I made him the answer you made to Mr. Nicholl, that you had never looked upon it as the thing in question, or to be considered of.

You must never expect that I shall tell you how much I admire your very handsome conduct both with regard to the King and the State; I reserve that to tell Lady Holland when you are taken up with other business, but you must give me leave for once, not as a private man only, but

as a subject of His Majesty, and a free vote of Great Britain, to sign myself,

Yours, most obliged,

SHELBURNE.

P. S.—He is obliged to stay in town to-morrow about other business, and desired me to tell you he should be glad to see you about twelve, if it suited, in Audley Street.

Two days after Fox replied:*

"I will be at twelve in Audley Street, and wherever I am desired to be from this day forward. The part is taken, you shall hear no more of fears; I shall not deceive you, but nobody else shall see that I am not fond of my situation. I am quite sure I shall please my superiors; it is a chance as to others (particularly Tories) but the dye is thrown and I will stand the hazard as if I had thrown it myself."

Thus was the negotiation ended. Bute expressed his own satisfaction in the following letter:

Bute to Shelburne.

MY DEAR LORD.—I return the enclosed † after having thoroughly weighed the contents of it, as

* Fox to Shelburne, October 12th, 1762.

† Mr. Nicholl's letter.

well as the suggestion of the Duke of Cumberland that corresponds with it. I have considered the idea in one point of light only, the same that struck me when I placed it before your Lordship; for as to the additional thoughts of the Duke of Cumberland, titles, &c., had I ever been weak enough to ambition such trifles, all that the Crown could possibly bestow has been most certainly within my grasp ever since the King's accession. The only question then that occurred with me was, how far this (or any other) alteration in the plan proposed, could have more effectually supported the King's Honour, facilitated his measures, and produced the Peace, for to the accomplishments of these great points every pulse beats, and every wish of my soul turns holding the sacrifice of myself as nothing if it procures any real advantage to my country, and to him, who is at once my King, my Master, and my Friend. Upon the most thorough and most disinterested examination therefore of this delicate point I am satisfy'd that any deviation from the plan proposed, will prove destructive to some of the purposes mentioned, detrimental to all, carrying with it an appearance of fear and timidity foreign to my heart and most inconsistent with my situation. No, my dear Lord, if the storm thickens and danger menaces, let me stand foremost in the ranks, I claim the post of

honour, and will now for the first time fling away the scabbard. Next to my little experience of business my unwillingness to punish has been no little drawback to me as Minister; I know it; I know the constructions put upon my conduct; few, very few, indeed judge of me as I am, and even my noble Friend may sometimes have imputed actions to my timidity which spring from motives of a more generous nature: but now the King's situation, the perilous condition of the country, the insolence of faction, demand a rougher rein and I have taken my part. The more I reflect on Mr. Fox's conduct at this crisis, the more I admire the noble and generous manner in which he quits retirement and security to stand with me the brunt of popular clamour, in supporting the best of Princes against the most ungenerous, the most ungrateful set of men this country ever produced.

I am,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

BUTE.

When Mr. Fox accepted the lead of the House of Commons he believed he would have to surrender the Pay Office, not imagining that public opinion would allow him to keep a position of great emolument while performing a task which it was practically as well known to others as to himself,

was to be otherwise rewarded, but afterwards, imagining that he was able to recognise an ebb in the current of his own unpopularity he determined to remain where he was, as will be seen from two letters addressed to Mr. Nicholl.

October 18th, 1762.

DEAR SIR,—Mrs. Nicholl very kindly wants you not to think, and if I believed your very great kindness to me would suffer you to be thoughtless just now, I would not put you in mind of me. I cannot help thinking of your advice and that there is great likelyhood of my following it. Think then of arrangements; with regard to those I leave in the office, with regard to who should succeed me, whether one or two joint paymasters, and who; and with regard to my affairs and my friends in the office as they may be affected by them. The result of these thoughts it will be time enough for me to know when you return; for I shall not have determined till I see you or deliberated with anybody upon it till I see you. Adieu.

Yours ever,

H. Fox.

DEAR SIR.—I thank you very kindly for your letter. When I wrote mine I thought the step very

proper to be taken and saw it in a light in which its propriety appeared to me greater than it appears now. I likewise thought of Legge and believed (though for some reasons which you don't mention, and not for all those you do) he would have had the offer of it. But now I have great doubts about making the vacancy. Instead of what I expected, I believe that in no fortnight since the year 1756 have I ever been less abused than in this last. The better sort want a system that they can think will last and therefore like this arrangement without any particular regard for me, and the language is very general that I came in very unwillingly and by command; such language, you know is very favourable. There are, who say I ought to have been Secretary of State, that the Minister in the House of Commons ought for the honour of the House to have a very high place, and these would like it still less if I had none at all. I would not have you think that I believe nobody abuses me, though it is not in the strain and with the fury and in general as I expected, among those who did abuse. It was said I was to have a great sum of money for making the Peace; this I had from one who heard it. It immediately struck me that what I was going to do would be no prevention of this abuse or perhaps rather give a colour to

it and be esteemed as affectation of disinterestedness put on to cover some great job. Adieu.

Ever yours,

H. Fox.

This change of mind on the part of Fox was destined to have important consequences.

CHAPTER III.

THE PIOUS FRAUD.

1762–1763.

"Mr. Fox," wrote Shelburne many years after,* "was infinitely able in business, clear, penetrating, confident, and decisive in all his dealings with mankind, and of most extraordinary activity. His first connection was among the Torys. His ambition was quite of a modern kind, narrow, interested, in short, the ambition of office, which had the Court for its object, and looked on corruption as the only means to attain it. 'I give you so much, and you shall give me in return, and so we'll defy the world, and sing Tol de rol,' &c. His abilities and his conversation taking this turn, habit had so confirmed it that, when I knew him, he looked upon every other reasoning as mere loss of time, or as a sure mark

* This memorandum was written many years after the events to which the chapter relates (probably in 1803), which accounts for the bitterness of some of the expressions used, Bute and Fox having both long since quarrelled with Shelburne. See Preface.

of folly or the greatest knavery, 'for every set of men are honest, it's only necessary to define their sense of it, to know where to look for it; every man is honest and dishonest, according to the sentiments of the man who speaks of him; every man is artful too, to the extent of his abilities, God made man so, and has given it to him in lieu of force; only one man places his art in deceiving publick assemblies, another in deceiving particular men, another women, &c. Nor are honesty and art absolutely opposite qualities, but I can conceive a sensible man very easily to do what is called honest, that is punctual in his dealing, and meaning well to the man he deals with to the best of his abilities and very artful at the same time.' Mr. Fox was thus extremely honest in all his dealings with individuals. His good sense made him so, if his nature did not. He was extremely artful too, and for this purpose was really to the greatest degree open, except in cases of the greatest necessity. Possessed by this means of this short road to power, he despised as it were knowledge, or at least put men of that stamp in a second class, and looked on all publick spirit as the spirit of faction. This was his political creed in which he believed himself, and recommended to others. He excelled in everything that came within it. He was clear, had a great spirit of order, arrangement, and

economy in regulating everything that came before him, but formed to this, his ambition was a mean one, never daring to look very high, ready to submit to everything, consequently timid, with a certain dread of the publick, the natural consequence of his system, for how could it be otherwise. His sense told him it was necessary to deal with individuals, and secure them each by particular services of consequence. He must have been apprehensive of such of them as were unsecured by bribes and promises, which being far the greatest part, his very conduct made him afraid of the publick, if he was not naturally so, which however there is the greatest reason to believe. He was proud to a great degree, envious even to bitterness, and revengeful, which, if well considered, will be found perfectly agreeable to his other qualities, and both of them illustrated by every action of his life. He had, however, an extraordinary degree of shrewdness and sagacity.

"As to foreign affairs, Mr. Fox had always entirely trusted to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams,* first Envoy in Saxony, afterwards in Russia. He

* Sir Charles Hanbury Williams had occupied many important diplomatic posts, and was also a writer of *vers de société*, in which pursuit he shone more than he did as an Ambassador. He was very intimate with Mr. Fox. See Walpole, vol. iv. p. 139, for some further account of him. A complete collection of his works has been made.

was a man of wit, but nothing else. He was bred up the same as Mr. Fox, in the profligate school of Lord Hervey, and lost his senses while abroad in the midst of negotiations without anybody in England knowing it. His ingenuity and wit rather increased than lessened with his madness, so that he deceived *all* sides. Mr. Fox put an entire confidence in him, by which way he was enabled to spend immense sums under pretence of Secret Service, which no one knows how he disposed of. His dispatches which remain in the Secretary's Office are a series of romances stating favours and *bonnes fortunes* which he never had, all which he pretended to turn to political account.

"What passed in the year 1757, in the struggle between Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, is too long to recapitulate. Mr. Pitt told him then he did not look upon him a man *sui juris*, because of the Duke of Cumberland. The fact is, Mr. Fox was not formed to be a man *sui juris*, else he would have been so. I have often thought Mr. Pitt then saw he could get the better of Mr. Fox when he pleased, but that he could not of the Duke of Cumberland. Mr. Fox bore all from Mr. Pitt which the superiority of his line, the favour of the people, on the great majority of whom he stood, the daringness of his temper, ready to risk everything, enabled him to surround him with every time they appeared in publick.

"Not one of Mr. Fox's maxims did he dare to profess in publick, or if he did they were immediately run down by the great body of the people, (while Mr. Pitt was in the midst of his system) and men were thus ashamed to perform in publick what they had promised to do in private, or did it as if they were ashamed. Mr. Fox's system was built upon the ridicule of those very qualities the professing of which enabled Mr. Pitt to gain the heart of every disinterested man, at a time when the publick was supposed to be in the greatest danger. Mr. Fox retired laughing, as it were, and talking of Mr. Pitt as a madman, but necessarily conscious of his own inferiority, he abandoned all hope of returning to power, and gave himself up to his next passion, which was covetousness; he had an opportunity of satisfying this to the greatest degree in the Pay-Office, and exerting all his abilities in the pursuit, by his management, taking proper advantage of the rise and fall of the Publick Stocks, with the publick money, a great deal of which necessarily lay in his hands. This, together with the fondness for his family, which was without bounds, together with the connection of some friends whom he still kept attached to him, were sufficient resources to occupy his mind. He was therefore prevailed on with the greatest difficulty to alter his resolution and to come to

Court to assist Lord Bute in October 1762, and these reasons made him so very determined in making it a condition that he should retire at the year's end. I have dwelt the longer on his character, because, if it's well understood together with Lord Bute's, it will not be at all difficult to comprehend every event that happened to the end of the Session."*

Whatever his merits or demerits may have been, Fox was not a man of hesitations. Having accepted the lead of the House of Commons, he determined to force the peace through at any cost, and did so by those arts which in the eighteenth century were known as political management. The condition of the House of Commons and—with a few exceptions—of the constituencies, rendered his task easy. The last election had dethroned the Duke of Newcastle. A judicious use of rewards and punishments among members did the rest. But in the opinion of Bute, the fall of the Duke of Newcastle was not enough. The Whig aristocracy were to be utterly trampled under foot, and the Minister eagerly awaited the moment when, after the signature of the preliminaries of peace, he would be able to assure the King that he was now at length his own master. Even before the meeting of Parliament a heavy blow had been struck. The King became suddenly convinced, or

* See p. 139.

professed to be so, that some dark intrigue was on foot to hand him over again to the Whigs, and the resignation of their appointments at Court by the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord George Cavendish, and Lord Bessborough came as the match to light the powder magazine of royal resentment. George III., determined to anticipate his real or supposed enemies,* and without consulting the Ministers, struck the names of the Whig Duke and the Whig Marquis from the Council book. But though the deed originated with the King, it was undeniably accepted by Bute and Fox and Shelburne. The first was ready to defend whatever his royal master thought fit to do; the second sacrificed his old friendship to the prospect of immediate gain; and the third weakly allowed his disgust for the old Whig system to persuade him of the real existence of the cabal. The two following letters shew the position of the three statesmen: †

* See Jesse, Reign of George III. i. 144. "It was insisted by the courtiers that the King had just and ample grounds for being incensed against his Grace. Not only, they said, had the Duke of Devonshire for some time past habitually absented himself from the meetings of the Privy Council, but he was even now, they believed, engaged in caballing with the Duke of Newcastle against the Government. Unluckily, that very morning the King on his way from Richmond had himself seen the two Dukes together in the same chariot."

† Lord Stanhope in his history, vol. iv. ch. xxx. represents the King as acting under the advice of Bute. The letters given above

Bute to Shelburne.

November 3rd.

MY DEAR LORD,—In a few hours after I saw you I received a note from the King, telling me he had executed his intentions concerning the Privy Councillors, and this he explain'd in a manner that shows me no man alive could have prevented it, nor would I for the world hint to Him Mr. Fox's opinion, not only as the thing is over, but as He looks on this whole affair as personal insult to Himself. Suffer me now, far from excusing, to justify strongly the King's conduct. Was ever a punishment so justly adapted to an offence? The oath of Counsellor broke, the name is erased, the real *Lex Talionis.* The Duke of Cumberland is represented to me, my dear Lord, as growing more placid, and yet the certain account I have of Newmarket carries no equivocal marks to me of that sweet temper talk'd of. The King is insulted on every side. I own I feel for Him, I know you do; I wish all who serve Him did the same; and then we should not hear these lamentations, these timid half-measures. I will not screen myself under my Prince. I advised not,

prove the contrary, and entirely exculpate Fox from the charge brought against him of having been the special adviser of the disgrace of his old patron the Duke of Devonshire. Walpole, "Memoirs," i. 202.

indeed, the measure, but that I won't own, and I most heartily approve it.

Adieu, my dear Lord,

Yours, &c.,

BUTE.

Shelburne to Bute.

November 4th.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am this moment honored with yours. I was in hopes His Majesty had seen the Duke of Rutland to-day, but I entirely agree with your Lordship that he should see him as soon as possible. Perhaps if twelve hours were given him to consider after the King had seen him and the change offered him, his female friend would probably influence him to accept. Mr. Fox says, "If the Duke of Rutland's behaviour warrants it, let him be summoned to the *Conciliabulum*, and let Lord Granby, by your Lordship (meaning me), Calcraft, and others be made more drunk with praise than he ever was with champagne. Let Lord Bute get them to declare, and we will with these Simpletons distance the other old Families, those Phantoms they talk of so much." He is certainly very sorry about the Duke of Devonshire, and wishes it had been first debated and considered, "What good can it do? What harm may it do?" but that, not out of regard to his Grace, nor meaning to extenuate

the offence, nor at present even to lessen the King's resentment, but merely with a view to what is to come, and from being of opinion that he is the most timid of those, who may be now considered as endeavouring by the basest means to take His Majesty prisoner, and therefore that this indignity should be reserved for those who, though they had deserved, had not received any as yet. But as it is done, your Lordship may depend upon it, he will join you *in justifying*, not defending, it to the world. As to the Duke of Cumberland, I always told your Lordship, if Mr. Fox connected himself with you, His Royal Highness could not prevail to make him do anything contrary to the spirit of his engagements with you, but I never said that Mr. Fox's judgment of the Duke was to be taken. He feels that the Duke dishonors himself by such a conduct as you describe, and therefore halts to think it possible. And I believe I described his conduct so warmly and so home to the Duke by adding what the King had said of him as to make him of another opinion for the moment, though I readily believe your Lordship that it is changed. This is the case not only with regard to the Duke, but with anybody whom he has lived in friendship with, which you will find him, as I have often assured your Lordship, most uncommonly sincere in. For my own part I see it in most odious colours, but

not less serious for their being odious. I do believe it requires the utmost activity and versatility in your Lordship to rescue the King from being liable the whole of his reign to such insults.

I am with great esteem and regard,
My dear Lord,
Ever yours,
SHELBURNE.

The preliminaries were submitted to both Houses of Parliament on December 9th. Shelburne was entrusted with the motion approving them in the House of Lords.* No record of his speech on this occasion is preserved. The preliminaries were approved in both Houses. "Now," said the Princess Dowager, "my son is King of England." † "Strip the Duke of Newcastle of his three Lieutenancies immediately," wrote Fox, anticipating the victory. "I'll answer for the good effect of it, and then go on to the *general* rout, but let this beginning be made immediately.‡ I should not wish your Lordship," he continued, when sure of the event, "so entirely well as I do (and hope you think I do), if I did not touch upon the subject of turning out,

* Bute to Shelburne, November 1762. Fox to Bute, December 1762.

† Walpole, "Memoirs," vol. i. 233.

‡ Fox to Bute, November 1762.

lest these scenes should ever come to be acted over again. The impertinence of our conquered enemies last night was great, but will not continue so if His Majesty shows no lenity. But, my Lord, with regard to their numerous dependents in Crown employments, it behoves your Lordship in particular to leave none of them. Their connections spread very wide, and every one of them, their relations and friends, is in his heart your enemy. They all think themselves secure, and many talk with their own mouths, all by those of their relations and acquaintances, against your Lordship. Turn the tables, and you will immediately have thousands who will think the safety of themselves or their friends, depends upon your Lordship, and will therefore be sincere and active friends. I have very little to do with this personally, but willing to take upon myself all the odium of the advice, as I am sure it is the only way to make the rest of His Majesty's reign or of your Administration, easy. And I don't care how much I am hated if I can say to myself, I did His Majesty such honest and essential service."*

Bute needed no encouragement. "Party," he had said, "will be well explored, and everything the King detests gathered into one ostensible heap,

* Fox to Bute, December 1762.

and formed either to be destroyed by him, or by getting the better to lead him in chains. I see every prospect of the first event in the most flattering view, and nothing but despair and too late repentance hanging over the other." *

Much has been written on the subject of the political proscription of 1762. Considered in detail, it will be at once seen that a wide distinction should be drawn between the two classes of dismissals by which Bute and Fox at this period sought to strengthen their position. When, on the one hand, every one holding a business place was dismissed, a course was adopted which, though new indeed at the time, was one which became a precedent, and has since been gradually extended so as to include even those officials of the Court who happen to occupy seats in Parliament.† The evil effects of official members voting against the Government to which they belonged had been frequently and severely felt, and threatened, if tolerated any longer, to render government impossible. When, on the other hand, the Lord Lieutenants of counties were dismissed from their posts, not only was the course new, but no real argument could be found to justify it. The former

* Bute to Shelburne, November 19th.

† See the observations of Sir Denis Le Marchant in his edition of Walpole's "Memoirs." Vol. i. pp. 233, 235.

class of dismissals Shelburne strenuously urged on Bute, and few will blame him, but it cannot be denied that he consented to the latter as well, at least by silence. "Before another question comes," he writes, "let the 213 taste some of the plunder of the 74. Without you do somewhat of that kind, you'll find your cause want a necessary animation and your friends want encouragement."

The Tories, as well as other more material ones, will suspect you leave the door open for those against whom they were brought to shut it. If there is any opposition, Mr. Pitt will certainly be the soul of it, and has not he even got credit by his treatment of these gentlemen? I express myself to you in a hurry, going to the country; as Mr. Fox told me last night, he thought the King relaxed very much in regard to the Lieutenancies and to the plan of those who voted, and some who are professedly every hour labouring against you. At least, I would not suffer their conduct on Thursday to wipe off all the other acts which they have attempted."†

Once and once only was this evil precedent

* On December 1st Mr. Calvert had moved to defer considering the preliminaries and had been beaten by 213 to 74. (Walpole, "Memoirs," i. p. 222.)

† Shelburne to Bute, December 1762. The allusion to the "conduct of Thursday" means the abstention of the friends of the Duke of Newcastle from the division on the preliminaries.

followed. It was, curiously enough, when, in 1782, the Marquis of Rockingham, one of the present victims of Fox, abruptly dismissed Lord Carlisle from the Lord Lieutenancy of Yorkshire, in order apparently to give him a broad hint that his resignation of the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland was wanted.*

But Fox was not even satisfied with the fall of the great Whig Peers. His vengeance was to descend lower in the social scale, and here he and Shelburne parted company.

"The majority," writes Shelburne "on the side of the government may be fairly said to have turned Mr. Fox's head. He thought he had performed everything he promised, and that he could not be sufficiently rewarded. He therefore, being still determined to retire at the end of the year, that is to go to the House of Lords, no longer took any trouble about the individuals or the business of the House of Commons. His neglect of every individual with whom he was not particularly connected by relationship or interest hurt his character extremely, as it took off from the most amiable part of it, which was generally believed too. He was averse even to take the trouble of seeing them, and from that moment thought of nothing but what he should ask for himself, his brother, his nephews, his own and

* See Froude, "English in Ireland," vol. ii 320.

his wife's relations, and his immediate dependents. With these he filled up most of the employments, which he prevailed on Lord Bute to turn the Duke of Newcastle's friends out of, without the least regard to the future carrying on of the King's business. One event, however, happened which interrupted these considerations a little. Lord Bute's Tory friends had pressed him to have an enquiry into the publick expenses as a popular and, in every respect, a very wise measure. Sir J. Philipps, the silliest of them, was so bent upon this silly idea, for so it certainly was considering it on the side of Government—as Government was composed—that he was determined to propose it, and propose it in his own way. Lord Bute felt so hampered, having committed himself on this subject, as he had very imprudently done on many of the same purport to Sir F. Dashwood, and other people of the same stamp, that he thought he could not cleverly get off without appearing at least to come into it to a certain degree. He had a confused notion likewise that he might gain some popularity by it, and that he might deceive the world. Mr. Fox was most unaccountably afraid of it, insomuch that he could not conceal it from anybody, and was very imprudent in his opposition to it in the House of Commons, where he was left almost single, being deserted by Grenville, Elliot, and most of the

second people. He deprecated it in vain with Lord Bute. It ended without doing him any publick harm however, and has left in the world the impression of the most useless, contemptible, ridiculous, childish, and absurd measure ever proposed by Government, as attempts of that sort usually do, having failed." *

On the 10th of February, 1763, the definitive Peace with France was concluded, but the troubles of home politics had by that time changed the "confused notion of imitating the Duc de Sully," entertained by Lord Bute, into a determination to resign. At the same time Fox was urgently pressing on his patron at the Treasury that the moment had come to give him the promised reward and allow him to retire. Already, in January, he had written to Bute: "Though your Lordship's goodness and strict honor make it unnecessary, yet that I may not be liable to the least mental reproach, let me tell you, and through you His Majesty, as with the strictest truth I can, that what I feel from sitting in a full House of Commons till nine o'clock at night—though with a vacant mind—were of itself enough to convince me of the impossibility of my continuing there." †

The threatened motion of Sir J. Philipps now

* Memorandum on the events of 1762.

† Fox to Bute, January 1763.

came, in addition to the condition of his health, as an incentive to resignation; and although he took little or no share in the debates on the Cyder Tax, "which was proposed because Sir Francis Dashwood could not be made to understand a tax on linen, which was first intended sufficiently to explain it to the House, and it had to be laid aside in consequence;"* he certainly had no inducement to remain and share the discredit attaching to the Government which had proposed the obnoxious impost. While in this frame of mind he was suddenly informed of the determination taken by Bute to accompany him into retirement. Against this he strenuously protested, and stated his opinion in the following paper, which he handed to the Minister:†

"Too sure of the sincerity of your intentions to retire, yet I cannot see *how* it is possible that you should leave the Ministry this year. But you bid me suppose that you was dead. I choose to write this paper on a supposition that you will stay. If you were to die the King would do well to execute this plan or something like it, putting into your place some person apparently a stop-gap, until he had that experience of some men, which to gain is the foundation of this paper. For it seems to me

* Memorandum on the events of 1762.

† This paper is endorsed "wrote at Lord Bute's desire and given to him March 11th 1763."

that it were eligible to put most, if not all of the great and efficient offices which give daily access to the King into other hands. Whilst you stay to control them it is another thing; but your going will open to them views which they are, some of them, weak enough to be looking for already, and whilst they are struggling for power such intrigues, cabals, and bad arts would subsist as it would be miserable to His Majesty to live amongst, and as must be very prejudicial to his affairs. I would find honest and proper men for these places, nor is it surely impossible to find them. Yet I would not be so sure I had found them as to pronounce them such till His Majesty should be able by experience to know them. The persons I would put into great places now, and give access to His Majesty that he might observe and know them, are Lord Gower, Lord Shelburne, and, I think, Lord Waldegrave. Your Lordship will add to these such as occur to you. These are men of honour and veracity. The first is of a humour and nature the most practicable, and if any man could do the office of Southern Secretary without either quarrelling with Charles Townshend, or letting down the dignity of his own office, he would. His being in such a station is the thing (and perhaps the only thing) that would fix that capricious being, the Duke of Bedford, whose present intention is to resign and take no other

employment. If that should be the case he would dine a fifth Duke at Devonshire House within this twelvemonth.

"The second, Lord Shelburne, has uncommon abilities, great activity, and loves you sincerely. I need say no more to you of him than that he cannot with decency or ability remain as he now is; if he has an employment it must be a very high one, and he will fill it well.

"The third, is a man of strict honour, will go through what he engages in without any indiscretion, has great firmness, with great gentleness of manner, is by his friends both respected and beloved, has few enemies, and no view to popularity.

"Those who are, and should not remain where they are, at Court, are Lord Halifax, Lord Egremont, G. Grenville.

"The first, is vain and presumptuous, aiming at the highest degree of power, and secure in his own mind of universal applause, taking no connections seriously, or that may bind him whenever they become in the least inconvenient to his views, and parting with no connections which he thinks may one day serve him, however they may be offensive or injurious to those he acts with. Such is his present intimacy with Legge, and his leaning to the Duke of Newcastle, &c. Insincere, regardless of his word to a supreme degree, and regardful

only of what may serve his vanity and ambition, which are without bounds.

"Of Lord Egremont, you who was witness of his conduct in the summer do not want to be informed. He was then undoubtedly led by Lord Mansfield, through G. Grenville, to very bad purposes, and talked publicly of the necessity of widening your bottom by reconciliation with the Duke of Newcastle. Since I came he has been rather an useless, lumpish, sour friend, than an enemy. But he certainly has not that cordiality that I wish; whenever friendship is professed it ought to be sincere, as of my conscience his ought to be towards you.

"G. Grenville is, and will be, whether in the Ministry or in the House of Commons an hindrance, not a help, and sometimes a very great inconvenience to those he is joined with. He is a man of very weak understanding, and I wish I could impute to that alone what is wrong in him. His refusing to go on with the King's Measures towards peace, your Lordship will call timidity, but when Lord Mansfield could inspire him with the thought of calling Lord Hardwicke and the Duke of Newcastle to the King's assistance, was there no permanency in employment do you believe, hung out to him by Lord Mansfield, which his fears made him think would not be the case if he went on with you? Weak

and fearful as he is, had he been honest, he would not have brought you into the dilemma you was in in October last.* When in a great office he withholds from the King and you all the use of it to Government, you will say it is a Catonical temper and mulish resolution not to depart from what he once lays down. Let no such mule be in such an office. But, my Lord, a man who can be a mule with his friend and benefactor, has neither good nature, good sense, nor honesty; and, indeed, I think him deficient in all. In the House of Commons he will ever be a tiresome incumbrance, unless the chief persons there have authority enough to set him, like other incumbrances, aside and out of the way.

"I now come to the House of Commons, and as there never was one so well disposed to be governed, it is the greatest pity there should be danger, as there is, of its becoming ungovernable. Sir Francis Dashwood is an honest man, has the best intentions, and may be recovered from any of those starts which he is subject to. But he is not fit for the station he is in, and it is too late in life for him to make himself so. I have considered it well, and do with the greatest confidence advise that Mr. Oswald be made Chancellor of the Exchequer. His abilities are so great and so well

* The allusion is to the negociations for peace.

known to be so, that nobody will think he was made because he was a Scotchman;* many undoubtedly will say so, but when people say what everybody knows they don't themselves believe, they will be little regarded: and indeed it is time to lay aside all thoughts of that objection on every occasion. All has been said that can be said, and if you think no more of it, I believe you will hear no more of it. Whether Sir J. Turner† will be governable, I don't know, he is shallow and conceited, and I should fear would not. Lord North is young and interested, and his views of rising in the House of Commons will, I fancy, make him I won't say only tractable, but obsequious. There must never be a difference among the Treasury about anything. I would have all business, the whole system of the next session, settled between you and Oswald before the Parliament meets, and not a tittle of it departed from afterwards. I do not propose Oswald to have a Levée and manage, as it is called, the Members of the House. That never was, nor ever can be done

* James Oswald, of Dunnikier, and Gilbert Elliot (afterwards Sir Gilbert, and father of the first Lord Minto) were "Scots and Commissioners of the Treasury." Walpole's "Memoirs," i. 155. Oswald was regarded as a great authority on all commercial and financial questions. The recently published works of Lady Minto contain an account of Sir Gilbert Elliot.

† M.P. for King's Lynn.

but by the Minister, who is in your station; but Oswald will on all occasions take the lead, and will be supposed to speak your sense. If this scheme is punctually followed, the House of Commons will in another session gain great credit by the ability with which the business will be planned, and the steadiness with which it will be pursued, and both together will beget an opinion of discipline so established as may make things go on well, even if you should then retire, and put a less able man into your place. Who that man should be, His Majesty must judge. He is so amiable, and condescends to make himself so agreeable to those who have the honour to approach him, that it is very fit he should consider the agreeableness as well as ability of a man he is to see every day: I have endeavoured therefore to draw honest men to be under his immediate observation out of whom to choose.

"Lord Chancellor must be brought to take Judges with a view to Parliamentary interest where they are equally fit. If he will not lead he must be drove.*

"But, my Lord, in what way is Lord Hardwicke and his family to be considered? Are the sons to wait, with £20,000 a year from the King, for an

* Lord Keeper Henley had been at length made Chancellor in 1761.

opportunity to oppose his measures, and not taking the most trifling steps in support of them, nay saying, as they do publicly, that their father's friendship with the Duke of Newcastle is sacred, and that they shall abide by it.* I would bring them to explanation by removing at least Sir Joseph Yorke from his Embassy,† and his younger brother from the Board of Trade where you want a vacancy. But this is in some measure out of the intention with which this paper is written.

"I have said nothing of Charles Townshend, he must be left to that worst enemy, himself, care only being taken that no agreeableness, no wit, no zealous and clever behaviour, though on the right side, ever betray you into trusting him for half an hour.

"This paper may be a very silly one, because I may not know things that known would quite alter my opinion. But, as things appear to me, it is just. It is certainly my sincere opinion, and given with as much disinterested affection to His Majesty and cordiality of friendship to your Lordship as can be in the heart of any man.

* Lord Royston was a Teller of the Exchequer, and Charles Yorke was Attorney-General.

† Sir Joseph Yorke was English Minister at the Hague. He remained there till the declaration of war with Holland in 1780.

"I shall ever have great satisfaction in thinking that I obeyed His Majesty's commands, and have not been quite useless, nor as I trust at all disagreeable to His Majesty in the execution of them. It will be an addition to that pleasure if I can hear that his affairs go on easily after I have left them; and think, that to their doing so, this paper of mine may have at all contributed."

Thus wrote Fox. The reply he received was an offer of the First Lordship of Treasury from Bute, sent to him through Calcraft:

"I write," says Calcraft to Shelburne,* "lest I should forget any material part of a very long conference. I am just come from the Pay Office. Mr. Fox is plainly, in his own mind, much inclined to the Treasury, but Lady Holland is so much against it and so miserable at the thoughts of it, that I could not but keep my faith with her, and desist from persuading Mr. Fox to what she says would make her miserable and kill him. I am sorry to find, in the course of the whole that passed yesterday, both Lord Bute and the other think of themselves without considering what becomes of those who supported them. Mr. Fox wished me to return to work Lord Granby into taking Ireland. I replied that on your being Secretary of State or

* Calcraft to Shelburne, March 15th, 1763.

not, would depend the whole of my wishes and conduct; that I thought many people were disobliged and still more would think well, before they joined any new system under Lord Halifax or George Grenville; that your getting the rank of Secretary of State and other reasons made it advisable for you to come into employment, though with such unpleasant colleagues; was you out of the question, I would carry all the force I could to Hayes, but you and you only should be my standard. I don't find Lord Bute said any more of you than Mr. Fox had told you. Will Lord Bute stay in the summer or no? I rather guess not, and that Lord Halifax will have the Treasury. You will be Secretary of State I take for granted, but you should know, and very many matters should be so maturely weighed, that when these changes come forth, a plausible system at least should appear with them. The Torys I will suppose mean to stay at Court, but what will all those others do, who are passing between Court and Opposition, and won't the latter gain great strength by the new supposed Ministers' insincerity and indiscretion. Adieu, my dear Lord. I am sorry Mr. Fox is not to be Minister. That would have done. The next best thing would be to give Lord Waldegrave the Treasury. This, I doubt, Lord Bute won't do. With our hold on Lord Northumberland, is it possible to think of placing

him as a great Lord, with Oswald his Chancellor, at the head of the Treasury, either for some short time, or till you could take it?"

Fox having renounced the Treasury, and finding it impossible to move Bute from his determination to resign, now addressed the latter on the arrangements that were to be made in the following terms:

"Finding with great concern, that Lord Bute's quitting, and quitting now, is a thing determined, and (for which Lady Caroline and I return our sincerest thanks) that the promise to us is remembered, and I am not desired to stay, I, at your Lordship's desire, write down my thoughts of what should be done considering these circumstances, and accommodating them as well as I can to what I heard from you this morning.

"The first thing to be considered, on which all the rest must turn is, Who shall be at the head of the Treasury?—Lord Halifax, Lord Waldegrave, Lord Northumberland, or G. Grenville, seem the only persons out of whom you can choose.

"If either of the three first, Oswald must be Chancellor of the Exchequer. If G. Grenville, he will be First Lord and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Of all these I incline to Grenville, if I can fairly say incline to one to whom I have so many objections. He has lost the esteem of the House of Commons,

where on this supposition he ought to be in the highest. He is in disgrace there from being supposed to have been tried and found insufficient, and from the ill repute his speaking there is in. I waive other objections because not allowed by those who know him better than I do, yet they speak of great timidity, a sad quality in the Minister of the House of Commons. But upon the whole, and especially knowing Lord Bute's good opinion of him, I very reluctantly (I can hardly bring myself to it) give the preference to Mr. Grenville.

"Upon this supposition let the popular Earl of Halifax remain where he is. Let Lord Shelburne succeed Lord Egremont. If, as I hope, that should drive Charles Townshend from the Board of Trade, let Oswald succeed him, and between Lord Shelburne and Oswald, that greatest and most necessary of all schemes, the settlement of America, may be effected. Let Lord Gower, the most practicable of men, be put at the Head of the Admiralty. Suppose Lord Tavistock were made Ambassador to Paris. These two things would fix the Duke of Bedford, who might then quit if he pleased. And let Lord Egremont be President. Lord Talbot talks of nothing but how well he is with the King, and, I cannot believe thinks of quitting. If he does Lord Egremont will make the best Lord Steward

that ever was, be a great economist for the King, and yet keep up great dignity. I should give the Lieutenancy of Ireland to Lord Waldegrave. And I wish it may be considered of what great use Lord Northumberland may be to Administration in Middlesex and Westminster. If there is room I would give him the Privy Seal, and put Lord Hertford in his place if it is thought worth while to give him anything. I have not said enough of Lord Waldegrave. He will do the King's business in Ireland better than anybody whatever, *suaviter et fortiter*, and though he will never join Devonshire House, yet the employing him will disarm and cast a damp upon them more than anything. Lord Egremont, if he were to go to Ireland, would, I believe, manage and behave worse than anybody. He has not one quality for that employment.

"When I know how these great things are settled it will be time enough (if ever requisite) to give my sentiments on less matters that depend on these. Of what relates to me and mine as far as promised or even hinted to me, I have no doubt. Unmentioned things that I will call *Agréments*, or graces, on my departure, I will hope for as they will not be unreasonable. But at all events, let me trust that I shall retain the good opinion of the King whose benignity charms me, and the sincere friendship (for I will not be content with less) of

that man of strictest truth and honour, my Lord Bute." *

In the midst of these compliments, a sudden storm arose. It became known to Shelburne and Bute, both of whom were under the impression that Fox, on being raised to the peerage, would resign the Pay Office, that he had no such intention, and "was resolved to go to the King to assure him he never had a thought of resigning."† Shelburne immediately hurried to see Fox. The result of this interview he described as follows to Bute: ‡

"Mr. Fox tells me this day *he is determined* to keep the Pay Office, and be a peer. He intends going to-morrow morning, and desired to know of me whether he should mention his brother, in answer to which I could say nothing more than I had already said from your Lordship on that head. He likewise wished to know, how he stood with the King and you, to which I very frankly told him my opinion, that it depended on the dignity and the grace of his going out, which depended again on his going lightly loaded. Calcraft is as much vexed as I am, and thinks it depends a great deal on your representing to him with firmness, how

* Fox to Bute, March 17th, 1763.

† Shelburne to Bute, March 1763.

‡ Shelburne to Bute, March 22nd, 1763.

unreasonable it is for him to expect to go to the House of Lords, and to go abroad with a great place, and £10,000 a year for himself, his brother, and Lord Digby, and that that will not fail to change matters, whatever appearance they make at present. I write your Lordship these loose thoughts, in order to inform you fully of this serious and very interested transaction, for it is nothing more or less than 'Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo.'

"I wish you may be at leisure to see him, only you'll be so good to inform me of your resolution, that we may not afterwards appear more unkind than necessary.

"Upon the whole I see no end to my being heartily sorry for your Lordship's going out, though I admire the manner of it, and feel for the contempt with which you must see the interested views that follow you so close."

But it was not only to Bute that Fox appealed. He again sought the advice of his cousin Calcraft,* who was then in the Pay Office, and generally regarded as his particular creature. To his great

* Calcraft began as a clerk in the War Office on £40 a year where he gained a great reputation. He was then transferred to the Pay Office which he left in consequence of the transactions detailed above. He subsequently became Commissary-General of Musters, and is well known as the devoted follower of Pitt in later years.

indignation Calcraft supported Shelburne, and declared that rather than give any other answer he would leave the Office.* "I have had" he writes to Shelburne "a very long and very firm conversation with Mr. Fox about the Pay Office and gave him my reasons for quitting it as sincerely as I feel them. Lady Holland was by and they made impressions upon her. They were not without effect on him, though he would not give way. His brother talked to him all last night to keep his place, and said your Lordship and I should yield to reason. I replied that reason was with us, that money was more Lord Ilchester's consideration than we wish'd it, and that he who liv'd out of the world was not the fittest judge what would please in it; in short, I did my best and will for Mr. Fox's sake continue my persuasion to a measure on which his credit so much depends. I stated this advice to Lord Bute and the comparison that would be drawn, that people would say he was afraid to leave the Office open to inspection, etc. Rigby promises me to speak to Mr. Fox to-night his opinion, which is strong with us."†

Before his audience with the King, Fox had cast about how to extricate himself from the difficulty in which he found himself, and began by settling

* Walpole, "Memoirs," i. 262.

† Calcraft to Shelburne, March 15th, 1763.

on a scheme to be found in a memorandum submitted by him to Bute, which may be read with interest.*

"My opinion cannot, and ought not to stand in the way of His Majesty's interest or conscience. But with regard to my private honour and feelings it must be absolute. Had I been consulted I would have found some way of reconciling His Majesty's wishes with my opinion: but that has not been the case, and I am supposed out of my employment, without being myself allowed to be a party to my own resignation. I cannot reconcile this to myself, or stand a moment against the general opinion which must prevail that I am not let to keep the office. I shall be laughed at, and laugh myself at the pretence that I resign voluntarily what I have had no opportunity given me of even speaking about. Lord Shelburne (and perhaps others with less reason) has said I intended to resign, without telling me he intended to say so, or that he had said so. I never heard of or imagined this till Thursday, and find both Lord Bute and the King had taken it for granted. It is not only true, but I can prove it to be so, that since January last I never could intend to resign now. Let me add that, if I had intended it, Lord Bute's going would have changed my resolution. It is amazing that, in all the conversations

* Paper endorsed "Pay Office." March 1763.

I have had with Lord Bute, he never gave me the least hint of this supposition. It is still more so that Lord Shelburne never did till Thursday last.* But things being in the unexpected situation they are, what am I to do? All I can do is this—if the King and Lord Bute, keeping it the greatest secret can help the King's affairs by knowing that my office shall be resigned next Xmas, His Majesty is most welcome to it, and in that case I will not be a Peer now. If His Majesty's want of my place to give away now should be so urgent that it cannot be deferred, I must submit and beg to show that it is not voluntarily, or to be called so, my Lord, that I part with it. I can wish His Majesty's affairs well in the House of Commons to as much purpose as in the House of Lords, and my imagination is so struck that, thanking His Majesty for having satisfied all that is essential of my ambition regarding Peerage, an obligation I never will forget, I desire at all events to remain myself a Commoner."

But, after deciding on the above course with the approval of his friend Mr. Nicholl, Fox changed his mind, and in the following letter addressed to Mr. Nicholl, and returned by the latter

* Compare Walpole, "Memoirs," i. 258. Bute's resignation was determined upon very suddenly, and there is no reason to suppose that Shelburne had any earlier notice than Fox. See, as to Lord Bute and his retirement from office, Lord Stanhope, vol. iv. 37.

with marginal observations, he developed another scheme:

*Mr. Fox's Letter.**

"DEAR SIR,—I have slept since, and though I see the usage I meet with and ever shall *see it in the same light*, (1) I am inclined to a very different conclusion than ours of yesterday. I impart it to you and to nobody else except Lady Caroline, and I write it thus, that you may put your thoughts in the margin; and I am far from having decided anything.

"It is very unpleasant, after all that has happened, to go away *out of humour*. (2)

"Dissembled *satisfaction is* better than *dissatisfaction*, (3) which it would be against my whole scheme of life to take any *revenge* of. I can undoubtedly keep my place, but *they will be much out of humour*, (4)

* This letter is endorsed "about April 10th, 1763," but the real date is evidently earlier. The endorsement is not in Mr. Fox's writing.

Mr. Nicholl's Observations.

"(1) If you did not, the world certainly would the moment they see what is to follow. You may dissemble with yourself, you will not impose on them. You might have compounded for a Peerage for your place at any time. What have you then for your great and late services?

"(2) Are they now in humour? Could they be so wanting in the knowledge of common civility to act as they have if they were in humour?

"(3) These are both painful; if there is any difference, perhaps the latter is less so to an honest mind than the former. Character or outward appearance will not admit of your seeming to be pleased with what ought to displease. It will be construed as a want of penetration to discover, or a want of steadiness or prudence to suffer it. It need not be *resented*, because you keep in a situation to resent.

"(4) True, what then? How will this hurt you? Is it sure they will be in humour if you leave it? The pleasing part is already forgot, or they would not do as they do. What you are wished to do

Mr. Fox's Letter.

and the memory of what vexes will be much more lasting than that of what *once pleased* them. On the other hand, common and easy *civility will follow the accommodating them*, and being quite out of the World. If I keep my place and remain a Commoner *there* will be disguising the discontent there will be on each side.

"They will be ashamed of this and *hate me the more for it.* (5)

"For these reasons, and above all *for my own ease*, (6) suppose I go on Wednesday* next, without imparting my design even to Lord Bute, and tell the King that it is not convenient to me, and was neither my design, nor as I believe His Majesty's, that this session should end in my losing my place; but that as His Majesty had been led into a belief unwarranted by me that it was my desire, and had thought of arrangements in consequence of it, I could not think of ending a session by being inconvenient to him, which I begun with so very different a view. And

* Wednesday, March 23rd.

Mr. Nicholl's Observations.

will be no more or longer remembered than what you have done. It would be really more convenient to your affairs (and, in truth, to the King's too), and more consistent with appearances abroad. What are the advantages on the other side?—civility, &c. Civility and respect in the practice of the world are, it's humbly presumed, ever proportioned to the use or disuse the Person can be of. Those who are in a situation to do neither much good or harm, may depend on little civility or attention.

"(5) They may, but won't hurt you. They won't love you, if you retire. This is the best of reasons, if it would be the consequence of your going out. But that is the very point in question.

Mr. Fox's Letter.

therefore only desiring that he would appoint A.B. to carry on my Office *till Midsummer*, I begged leave to resign now and my successor would be as well satisfied with a nomination to take place then as on this day.

"I should have a *great deal of dissembled* (7) praise and desire that I would stay, which I would take as if it was sincere, but persisting in my Resolution, to disobey His Majesty, go. I think he would forgive me that disobedience, and perhaps be so pleased with it as to let me go away, with appearance of obligation to me for what I have done. (8) And his joy that I resign may be mistaken for his being pleased with me that I came, which will be more favourable for us both.

Mr. Nicholl's Observations.

"(6) (7) There will be no dissembling on your part, you mean no harm, nor will do any, unless forced to it. If none is meant or attempted against you, all is well, and you can, when you please release them from their fears by going into the House of Lords.

"(8) With great submission, all this is not worth the hazarding one single moment of uneasiness or convenience to obtain. If you remain, the appearances will be preserved for their own sakes. If you go you will get nothing more.

"What had been right and wise, had Lord Bute continued, will be by no means equally so if he does not. Who have you obliged? Who are you to oblige? Is it those who are to come in? No. Will they be inclined then to manage you? A strong active opposition is likely to happen. They must fall on the general measures of Government, or some particular part. In either, you probably may have a large share of their ill-will. Would it be then prudent to be off your guard, and trust

Mr. Fox's Letter.

"My remaining in the House of Commons, and in a situation to struggle if I will, *is not, my dear Mr. Nicholl, that perfect tranquillity you wish me in.* (9)

"That can be only be had in the House of Lords, *the world forgetting, by the world forgot.* Think over this impartially. I could not think about it early yesterday, nor I believe you neither.

"I really do suppose, and surely I may, that by June 24th (three months) all my money may be gone that it is necessary should go."*

* It should be always borne in mind that, in making a private profit by investing the exchequer balances on his own account, Fox was not only doing what every Paymaster, except Pitt, had done with the knowledge of the public, but what the public would have been very much astonished if he had not done, as it was in the case of Pitt.

Mr. Nicholl's Observations.

for fair and civil treatment, to their good humour candour, &c.? Remaining in the House of Commons all parties will be careful, at least, not to displease you—you need not therefore take part, but be as much at liberty and ease as you like.

"(9) I grant it, but from my heart I believe it the most certain way of securing it in due time. It is seldom to be obtained the moment it is wished. The proper moment for that must be watched and catched when it offers. This (to me) seems not to be that moment. You may forget the world, but for a time it must so hang to you and you to it, that it will not forget you. When it does, go. You will have my full consent: you can at any time get into the House of Lords."

Fox accepted the advice tendered him by his friend, and falling back on the plan of offering to resign at once and stay in the House of Commons, sought an interview with Bute which proved but little satisfactory for a few days after he writes to him, renewing the proposal contained in his letter to Mr. Nicholl, in these words.*

"I never went out of your room dissatisfied till Friday.† I did so then, and have been fluctuating ever since in the consideration of what conduct I have left me to pursue. I will begin with that frankness which I think your Lordship has been wanting in towards me. You have seen me often since you had been informed that I intended to resign my place at the end of this Session, which I vow to God I never thought of doing, and your Lordship has never mentioned it to me or given me the most distant hint. Surely, my Lord, I had a right to be talked to upon my own business before the King had formed a notion of my intention. You heard it from several other friends of mine as well as from Lord Shelburne. It would have been kind to have mentioned it to me the next visit after you first heard of it. You would then have known how much you was misinformed. I don't desire to know who these friends of mine

* Fox to Bute, March 27th, 1763.

† Friday, March 24th.

were, but not having the same opinion of them as Lord Shelburne, I should think they had some bad design in it. There are very few who, collecting my opinion, could tell it your Lordship on a point that regarded me so nearly without letting me know it, that I should think honest men and wishing me extremely well. I do think so of Lord Shelburne. He imagined his judgment much better than mine, and that my notions of honor (as different from his, as common-sense is from romance) must at last be got the better of; and in this warmth could think he was serving me by giving his opinion for mine, without my leave or knowledge before or afterwards. This want of knowledge of the world, or the common rules among men, would have been corrected had your Lordship communicated to me what I had not the least idea of till Friday; viz., that the King had built upon my resignation, which I had no opportunity ever given me to speak about. I am supposed out of my employment, but I think I know your Lordship to be an honest man and incapable of any insincerity, and therefore with as much frankness and sincerity as I have, I have wrote what I have wrote; I acquit your Lordship of any sinister design. I have now, my dear Lord, unburthened my mind, whether wisely or no I cannot tell, but with a view to have everything between us as well as it ever was. And

in the belief that it will be so I proceed to tell you, *and you only*, my intention. I will go to His Majesty and tell him I am sorry he has built on a mistake, but since it has been so, I will never leave it possible for myself to think that I, who came to do Him all the service that was in my power at the beginning of the Session, (and I hope did Him some) should leave him in difficulties increased by any action of mine. I shall therefore beg leave to resign *now*, and shall have the pride to think and the hope that His Majesty will think I have done my duty *perfectly*. The world will say and think I am turned out; will say this is the reward I meet with, and that such a bad man as I am ought to meet with, that the Duke of Devonshire's prophecy to my brother is fulfilled, &c., &c., &c.

"To know that I am a truly honest man, and that the King and you must think me so, shall outweight the sense of all this scurrility in my mind.

"If you think you can outweight this opinion in other people by what His Majesty may at the same time be pleased to do with regard to my brother and Lord Digby and myself in point of rank, I shall be glad if you do it and it succeeds; at all events I shall keep a consciousness of having done right, and that good humour that always accompanies such a consciousness. I then

am determined my Lord, to resign immediately but must beg His Majesty to appoint A. B. to carry on the Office till Midsummer (which is alone a proof * how well Lord Shelburne knew my intention). But my resignation known and published now will make the nomination of my successor as effectual to His Majesty's purposes as if he could immediately execute the office, which indeed was never done. Pitt, turned out in November 1756, was desired to let the Books be carried on in his Name till Xmas, and, when Winnington died in April 1746, a Person was appointed, though Pitt had kissed Hands, to carry it on in Winnington's name till Midsummer. I shall see your Lordship early on Monday.

"And now, my Lord, assuring you upon my word of honour that I go out with the same inclination and the same sincere good wishes to your Lordship, as if there had been no mistake, and this had been, as you thought it, my own desire from the first, I will suppose that I am entitled to that friendship which you promised me, which I will return, and cultivate with the utmost cordiality."

* Because, if the accounts of the Pay Office were allowed to be carried on in the name of Mr. Fox to the end of the second quarter, it would be a proof that his resignation had not been expected in the first, the custom being to allow the accounts to be carried on for the outgoing paymaster to the end of the current quarter.

To this letter Lord Bute immediately replied as follows :*

"You must excuse me, if, notwithstanding all you say, I cannot feel myself in the least deficient with regard to you, in any one point of honour, friendship, or regard. I heard from your own friends a thing that suited so exactly my feelings that I never thought more about it, and when you surprised me by saying I was misinformed, I acquiesced in your being the best judge of your own conduct, knowing full well that in all events the King would leave it to your option, but I shall say more of this when we meet, that I beg may be on Tuesday at ten instead of to-morrow.† Suffer me in the meantime to assure you, that the last lines of your letter give me great pleasure, as they secure to me your friendship that I am most solicitous to keep and most certainly deserve."

Fox had meanwhile told Calcraft to suggest to Shelburne that he might not be so unwilling after all to succeed Bute. "I will trust to your Lordship's confidence," writes Calcraft, "in my faith and attachment to you to receive and consider this letter, not from a man whose fortune is made by Mr. Fox, but as your well-wisher at this juncture in preference to

* Bute to Fox, March 26th, 1763.

† The interview was again put off till 30th March (Thursday) by Fox. Fox to Bute, March 27th, 1763.

all other connections, and as one who wishes to lay before you every thought that occurs on events so very material to your future credit.

"We both know Mr. Fox in lights I should rejoice we did not. Yesterday was but a confirmation of what I have before seen. Before I proceed further, therefore, let me premise, if you are not sure of getting and keeping the King to yourself, at least from *him*, don't harbour any the smallest thought of accepting his offer. If you are, he will act agreeably, and look up to you; if not, I am sorry to say you know what will be the case—you know too all his weaknesses, George Grenville's you can only guess at. There is a possibility of our correcting and influencing the one though not the other. In this light it is worth your consideration whether you should or should not try to get him the Treasury. He has ability, his friends have confidence in him, and the world in general an opinion of his talents for this station. What may be his meaning at bottom of this offer, made under the influence of his brother, should be weigh'd also. I believe he'll get the Treasury, but there may be some foresight in case of its refusal, though upon my honour he has not hinted a word more than I have told you. Think upon all this, my Lord, as impartially as I write it, and with the same view, which is, that prejudice too well founded may

not make you prefer the other system without due determination on the good or bad consequences that may attend Mr. Fox's being Minister. I never wrote on so delicate a subject, nor would I to any other man so commit myself, therefore burn my letter the moment you have read it. But be assured the motive of it is the sincerest regard and truest attention to your happiness and welfare, which makes me wish no thought to escape you."*

Of the proposition thus obscurely made by Fox, Shelburne either took no notice, or was unable to get Bute to listen to it. Fox, beginning to see the danger of his situation, broke out fiercely against Shelburne, who now drew up a brief justification of his own conduct and handed it to Calcraft as a mutual friend. It ran as follows:

"On reflecting upon the whole of what has passed between Mr. Fox and me, I take nothing ill, but I own I am astonished. My conduct with regard to Mr. Fox's Paymastership has been most simple. I said what I thought would have been his conduct. It passed as conversation, it was not built upon, nor no arrangement made in consequence. The event plainly proves it. If Mr. Fox thinks he could have gone out with grace with more than he has, by any intercession of mine, he is entirely mistaken. I am very sorry that the King,

* Calcraft to Shelburne, March 22nd, 1763.

Lord Bute, and I am afraid all the world, think it should have been * * * Upon the whole, my conduct has in this, as well as in former instances, been directed by my joint regard to Mr. Fox, and to the authority and dignity of the King and his administration. Let him reflect on the manner of the language of his coming in, what he has declined, and what he possesses going out, and then let him consider the conduct of his friends, and I am sure he cannot accuse them of want of communication or of the regard due to whatever friendship he may have justly expected at their hands."*

But Fox was not to be pacified.

"Soon after I got home," says Calcraft, "Mr. Fox came here and found Rigby and me. He began the conversation I expected, but calmly; I gave him your Paper, which he read, and dwelt on the first part; that he never imagined you had said by his authority he would quit the Pay Office. I told him, if giving the opinion was what he took ill, I must take part of the blame, for I had given it as mine that he would part with the Pay Office and that he wanted to get rid of it. He wondered Lord Bute had never mentioned this matter to him, and a great deal of the same discourse that passed in the morning, but calm. Rigby reasoned a great deal; we talked upon his brother, Lord Digby,

* This paper is from a draft at Lansdowne House.

and other requests, but he seems determined now to keep the Office, doubts or pretends to doubt, whether he shall go to the House of Lords; I told him Lord Bute never harboured a thought of his keeping Paymasters' when he retired, and that the opinion you gave was to make his other requests come with better grace, and what you thought a right one. I am sorry he does not prove our opinion founded. I am sure it was his, and wish from my soul for his sake it had continued so. Adieu, my dear Lord, I am sure I have acted consistently both with friendship, gratitude, and good sense, so I only wish you may think so too."*

To this letter Shelburne replied:

"Upon the maturest reflection I can see nothing in your conduct or mine, which can furnish Mr. Fox with a just pretence of being offended; as to the rest I know the world enough not to be surprised at anything, and I know myself not to be afraid for anything that can happen, at least as to Mr. Fox. I feel very much for your situation, which I should not do if I did not feel it the most justifiable in the world. Charles Townshend never was a greater enemy to himself than Mr. Fox appears to be on this occasion. What says Rigby? But, in all events, believe me to be as much and sensibly obliged to you as I'm capable of."

* Calcraft to Shelburne, March 25th, 1763.

Calcraft, not to be discouraged, now made one more attempt to move Fox from his design of keeping the Pay Office. "It hurts me to the soul," he writes, "to see the comparison you draw between C. Townshend and the other too well founded. With respect to me, don't have anxious thoughts, for as I have told Mr. Fox this morning, I am sure he will in a few months be convinced of our friendship, and wish he had confided in it. We have had much discourse to-day. He was cool but positive. I was unalterable in my opinion too, but I find he is determined for the present to keep the office, which, alas, ought to be the last, and seems the only object. Rigby will come before dinner to-morrow, and tell you more at large what passed in both conversations, when he complained of your intimating his intention, or giving an opinion for him, which, says he, no man should do for another. I asked if I had not frequently given him my opinion of Lord Granby's intention, and whether he thought I did right or wrong; this was unanswerable, and avoided by going to fresh argument.* I told him no longer since than Tuesday, I thought myself sure from his own mouth he would quit now or at Midsummer at farthest, and that I was, by his request, hurrying

* It would seem that Lord Granby wished to be Paymaster. Compare page 194.

warrants that he might do so; in short, my dear Lord, he can't think of retiring from business, and deceived both himself and us, if the present state of his mind can be reasoned upon; when he talked of ending his political career; *I believe* he proposes going to the King on Monday, and assuring him he never had a thought of resigning the Pay Office. How this must hurt him in the closet after all that has happened, I grieve to think, and would give the world he could be persuaded to go out with that credit we have so long laboured to gain him."

The interview with the King took place on Monday the 28th, when "Fox behaved with great sourness, and the King with great dignity as regarded Lord Shelburne."* The King evidently feared to let his discontented Minister stay in the House of Commons, and Fox used that fear to make the King declare his resignation of the Pay Office should "be optional."† But though he obtained his object he still continued to vilify Shelburne. "As every mortification I meet with," he wrote to Calcraft, "and they are many, is the consequence of Lord Shelburne's conduct, I believe it were better we should have no conversation together on the matter. I do not mean that he intended what has happened, it may be quite the contrary, but

* Bute to Shelburne, March 29th.

† Bute to Fox, March 25th and April 12th.

nothing disagreeable could have happened had I been trusted with my own affair. He ought to know what I take ill. That he should for months together know that the Minister and the King imagined I intended to resign and never tell me that they thought so, was not fair, and has been fatal, unless to a man determined to leave the world it may be some advantage to be quite sick of it;"* and Bute having written to him, on the subject of the appointment of Shelburne to the Board of Trade, in the new Ministerial arrangements, saying that "it was a measure, that he would not hear of being altered," Fox replied, "With regard to Lord Shelburne, as, upon recollection, I am more and more hurt with his conduct towards me, I think it quite unnecessary to say anything else, than that I am very glad he has behaved in a way so agreeable to your Lordship."† The following day he again called on Bute,† and proposed that he should be made a Viscount as a proof of His Majesty "being more than ordinarily satisfied with him," and also "because, to those who mind precedence, it would be something that his family should stand before Pitt's in the list of Peers."‡ But this proposal did not find favour either with

* April 7th, 1763.

† Fox to Bute, March 29th.

‡ Fox to Bute, March 31st. Lady Chatham was a Baroness.

the King or with his Minister, for a few days after Fox began once more to suggest that he should stay in the House of Commons. This scheme, however, again proved abortive, as will be seen from the following letter written by him to Lord Bute:

"I assure your Lordship, and will assure everybody that, in all I feel I have from you nothing to complain of, and I now write to you as my friend. I hate my situation, searching for a path that may lead me to my lost good humour and not knowing how to find it. But I must choose one, and your conversation yesterday shows me that I must not think of staying in the House of Commons without incurring the King's displeasure. It would be a great mortification to me after, I won't say sacrificing, but risking everything to please, I should be so unhappy as to fail. I therefore beg your Lordship to tell the King that I accept cheerfully whatever he thinks fit.

"And now, my dear Lord, manage for me, as well as you can the remains, if there are any, of past favour. If I may point out anything, it should be at Xmas next, or when I quit the Pay Office, and it can be so managed, His Majesty may think of giving me the Privy Seal. The Privy Seal is £2300 a year. The Pay Office is double. But this would be a distinguished mark of His Majesty's approbation of my conduct, which would

at the same time make me happy, and, may I not say, do His Majesty no harm."*

To this letter Lord Bute replied as follows:

"Lord Bute presents his compliments to Mr. Fox, and is glad to see his final determination taken. He has acquainted his Majesty with it, in the manner he thought most likely to be of service to him. Lord Bute wishes Mr. Fox would send the name of the Barony he proposes to take to the Secretary of State. As to the latter part of his letter he sees so little probability of the Privy Seal being open, when once the arrangement is made to fill it, that he can only say in general, whenever Mr. Fox wishes to quit the office he now holds and points to any other, the essential services he has rendered His Majesty entitle him, in Lord Bute's opinion, to meet with the most gracious reception, and to have great attention paid to any request he shall make."

Thus, the end of the controversy was that Fox became Lord Holland and retained the Paymastership, a post which he continued to hold till 1765. But although the new Peer obtained all that he desired, and notwithstanding a declaration that "he and Lord Shelburne would yet be friends,"† all communication between them ceased from this

* Fox to Bute, April 12th.

† Fox to Bute, March 31st.

time, nor did Lord Holland in conversation desist from representing Shelburne as having betrayed him.

It was the tradition of Holland House, and it is asserted by Walpole,* that Bute justified the conduct of Shelburne by telling Fox that it was "a pious fraud." "I can see the fraud plainly enough," is said to have been the retort of the retired statesman; "but where is the piety?" This story repeated and exaggerated, as is usually the case with such stories, became the origin of those imputations of duplicity which pursued Shelburne through life. It was to his conduct towards Fox that his enemies, in subsequent years, appealed as the final justification of their hostility. The very unpopularity of Fox served only to heighten the force of the attack. Fox, it was said, was looked upon as the ideal of cunning, but here was the man who had outwitted Fox. It will have been seen how baseless these attacks were. Fox, in October 1762, when accepting the lead of the House of Commons, considered that this token of royal confidence—a very thankless one in itself—would oblige him to abandon the Pay Office. He had already taken the preliminary steps to resignation when he thought fit to alter his mind and stay where he was. He had let it be known in the Pay Office that he was about to

* "Memoirs," vol. i. 258.

retire, and it cannot be doubted that, in conversation with those with whom the negotiation for the lead of the House of Commons was carried on, he had given expression to the same sentiments. These persons were Shelburne, Bute, and Calcraft. Can they have doubted that the same motive, viz., the fear of public opinion, which prompted Fox to think his resignation of the Pay Office necessary on receiving a seat in the Cabinet, and the lead of the House of Commons—honours which entailed no salary but a great deal of work and of abuse—would not equally lead him to think his resignation called for when, intending to abandon political life and go abroad, he was created a Peer, and saw himself, his relatives, and personal followers all amply provided for. That they did think so, and considered Fox had let them suppose that this was his own opinion, is clear. Even Rigby was against Fox. "The man," says Walpole, "he most loved was Rigby. He had assisted in Rigby's promotions, and wished to push him forwards and to be strictly connected with him in every political walk. In the height of his quarrel with Shelburne and Calcraft, Fox, walking along St. James's Street, met and stopped Rigby's chariot, and leaning on the door of it, began to vent his complaints; when the other, unprovoked and unconcerned in the dispute, interrupted him with these stunning sounds: 'You tell

your story of Shelburne; *he* has a damned one to tell of you; I do not trouble myself which is the truth,' and pushing him aside ordered his coachman to drive away. From that moment Fox became the enemy of Rigby." Walpole insinuates that Shelburne wished to have the Pay Office himself.* There is no evidence whatever of this. Whatever his faults may have been, Shelburne was not an office-seeker. He had just refused the Secretaryship of State and the Presidency of the Board of Trade, though he subsequently accepted the latter. His independent means allowed him to be indifferent to the emoluments connected with the Pay Office. Bute, the principal of Shelburne in this unfortunate negociation, declared to Fox "that the conduct of Lord Shelburne had been agreeable to himself,"† thereby identifying himself with that conduct. As against this the vague tradition that Bute was the person who used the words "pious fraud" is valueless for the purposes of history. Fox in the letter of March 26th, taxes Shelburne with no dishonourable conduct, but only with entertaining "a romantic idea of honour entirely repugnant to his own common-sense." It is only in a letter, written two days subsequently to that of the 27th

* Walpole, "Memoirs," vol. i. 257.

† Fox to Bute, March 29th, 1763.

of March, that Fox, after brooding over his supposed injuries, begins to paint the conduct of Shelburne in dark colours, while in another two days, viz., on March 31st, he announces his intention of "being good friends with Lord Shelburne," an undertaking which he performed by abusing him all over London "as a perfidious and infamous liar."* Thus was the friendship of Fox for Shelburne changed into suspicion and hostility by this quarrel, the full effects of which did not make themselves felt till twenty years after. Meanwhile Charles Fox was brought up by his father to believe that the character of Shelburne was that of a man in whom no trust could be placed.†

Bute himself gave the most decisive proofs of

* Walpole, "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 257.

† Lord Stanhope, "History of England," vol. v. p. 40, says: "Fox and Bute now both appealed to Lord Shelburne . . . . Lord Shelburne, much embarrassed, *was obliged to own that he had in some degree extenuated or exaggerated the terms* to each from his anxiety to secure, at all events, the support of Fox, which he thought at that period essential to Government." The passage which Lord Stanhope quotes from Walpole's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 258, in support of his statement runs as follows: "Lord Shelburne had told the Earl that Fox would quit the Pay Office for a peerage, but Fox had only stipulated to give his support for that reward." The statement is Walpole's own. Shelburne made no acknowledgment, either at the time or subsequently, of having misled Fox and Bute, as the words used by Lord Stanhope would lead the reader to imply that he did. There is a brief and, on the whole, correct summary of the above events in Bentham's works, x. 101.

his undiminished confidence in the integrity of Shelburne as a negociator. During the formation of the new Government under George Grenville, he continued to employ him as his intermediary with Lord Gower, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Waldegrave, the Duke of Rutland, Lord Granby, Rigby, and the Duke of Marlborough.* These delicate negotiations—for Bute, though surrendering the ostensible lead, intended to pull the wires under the stage†—succeeded in a great measure, owing to the tact of Lord Gower, but the King himself had to interfere before all the contending claims could be satisfied "to unravel the Gordian knot and put the finishing stroke to the new establishment."‡

The difficulties made by the various parties to the negociation were incomprehensible to the mind of Bute, who imagined that the King ought only

* Shelburne to Bute, and Bute to Shelburne, March and April 1763.

† "Make Barré Surveyor-General of the Ordnance. This would be rewarding him very nobly certainly, but upon weighing it I am clear he would be able to return it in the execution of the office, and in the credit he would do your Lordship in a Board which you may depend upon it wants reformation more than any other; and I dread the consequence of Lord Granby's coming to it without the check of some honest, firm man who will be ready to receive your instructions." Shelburne to Bute, April 1763. Barré was made Adjutant-General and Governor of Stirling.

‡ Bute to Shelburne, March 30th.

to have to call in order to be obeyed. "Have we really," he writes,* "Monarchy in this Kingdom, or is there only a puppet dressed out with regal robes to serve the purposes of every interested man, who on every turn is to be buffeted at pleasure. Lord Granby now acts the second part of Mr. Pitt's most offensive Drama, and if Home tells me right goes further still, for he understands Lord Granby will never be in office if Lord George† has any place whatever. If this be so, I repeat again the King's a phantom, and this country under a mere oligarchy. The case of Lord George I told you myself some time ago. The King two years ago had promised him, when peace came, to take off the violent proscription against him. The end of last month he sent a person to me, desiring to know what he was to depend on. I, upon that, got a friend to acquaint Lord George that the King remembered what he had said, but saw so many objections to it that he would not do it, nor could he give him any office as he desired; that there was no objection to his coming to Court and, when he did, he should receive him with his usual civility, and at a proper time, when convenient and unengaged, he should not be against giving him a Civil Office; that if Lord George went over to the faction after this,

* Bute to Shelburne, April 1763.

† Lord George Sackville.

Lord Bute should look on him as the least of men, and believe every word his worst enemys said. This was the purport of the message sent by me to Lord George, and what does it imply farther than a wish at this critical minute, to prevent every man of parts in the nation from flying to the common enemy.

"Adieu, my dear Lord, I refer for anything more to Home and shall only observe, that Lord George on receiving this message, sank from all his hopes, and looks on himself as blasted for ever.

"This mode of quieting Lord George, both Lord Halifax and I thought the best, before I took any part in it."*

It would seem that, at an early period of the negotiations relating to the new ministerial arrangements, the post of President of the Board of Trade had been offered to Shelburne and refused,† but, on the 25th of March, Bute proposed that he should

* The admission of Lord George Sackville to Court at the accession of George III. was the chief cause of the enmity between Mr. Pitt and Lord Bute. The papers now in the possession of the Earl of Harrowby clearly establish this.

† Shelburne to Bute, March 26th, 1763; Bute to Shelburne, March 29th, 1763; and the letters in the Grenville Correspondence (vol. ii.) of March 1763. It is not, however, quite clear from these letters that a positive offer of the Board of Trade had been made to Shelburne previous to his refusals of the Secretaryship of State, though it would appear to have been so. So far as Bute was concerned Shelburne could at any moment have had this or any other office.

have the seals of Secretary of State. To this the cautious Grenville, the Minister designate, objected.* "With regard to your question," he wrote to Bute, "relating to Lord Shelburne's being appointed Secretary of State, the difficulties arising from that arrangement at this time are not founded upon any personal consideration of my own, which I beg leave in a business of this moment to lay entirely out of the question; and I do solemnly protest to you they shall not weigh with me in the decision of it, but it imports me thoroughly to consider and, from my duty to the King and my regard to your Lordship, to state to you a much more interesting question which it is essentially necessary for us both to give the utmost attention to, I mean, how far that appointment will effect the carrying into execution that system which the King thinks of forming for his future Government, and which (whoever is employed in it) must at present unavoidably be attended with great difficulties.

"For this purpose you will allow me to represent to you the objections which will be made to this part of the arrangement in the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and the public.

"These will arise from Lord Shelburne's youth, his inexperience in business, never having held any

* Grenville to Bute, March 25th, 1763. Grenville Correspondence, vol. ii.

civil office whatever, and from his situation and family, so lately raised to the Peerage, however considerable both may be in Ireland.

"The envy and jealousy of the old Peers, many of whom are already trying to band together, must naturally be excited to the highest pitch by a distinction, of which in most of its circumstances, there is I believe no example in our history. The pretensions of such as now hold offices of the second rank in the House of Lords will be raised to a degree that cannot be gratified, and their disgust and disappointment will either break out into an open resistance, or at least prevent any cordial support.

"In a discussion of this kind, it will be absolutely necessary to know the sentiments of individuals, which the secrecy you require makes it impossible for me to do; and therefore obliges me to represent things as they at present appear to me.

"You will consider how far this appointment will meet with the cordial approbation of all or any of those from whom, in that House, this system must expect assistance; from Lord Halifax, Lord Egremont, Lord Chancellor, Lord Mansfield; from Lord Egmont, Lord Marchmont, Lord Denbigh, &c.; from the Duke of Bedford, Lord Gower and all their friends. I know not their sentiments, and therefore cannot decide upon them; but as far as my own

uninformed judgment goes, I cannot persuade myself that many of these, even of the most congenial, would bear Lord Shelburne's being put at once over their heads with satisfaction or content. In the House of Commons the same jealousies and uneasinesses will probably arise, and I see very few, if any, of the considerable persons there, whose approbation and hearty concurrence with this measure could be depended upon.

"I cannot at present believe that it would be agreeable to the country gentlemen of any denomination, either Whigs or Tories, nor to those who for many years have holden distinguished offices of Government, even if the majority of them should acquiesce under it, which I think uncertain. As to Mr. Charles Townshend it will throw him into immediate opposition.

"What impression it will make upon many others I will not say, but I fear not a favourable one.

"I will not specify individuals, as I may be deceived, nor would I have done it in the House of Lords, if you had not mentioned the particular situation there as an inducement to you for this nomination. In the public, popular clamour will undoubtedly be raised, and from many motives will be industriously propagated as much as is possible, and the graver and more sober part of mankind

will be surprised and offended at the novelty of this step in all its circumstances. These, my Lord, are some of the most obvious difficulties, which, I apprehend, cannot fail of being aggravated at this critical juncture upon the appointment of a person so young and so unknown in public business. They seem also to carry the greater weight with them at a time when so large a body of the nobility are ostentatiously combining themselves in a public avowed opposition; a measure on their part which surely makes it advisable in Government to place in the first offices at least such persons as may be free not only from real but even plausible objections. Do not believe, my Lord, that they arise in me from personal prejudice only. Were Lord Shelburne the dearest friend I had in the world, I do protest I would advise him for his own sake to decline for the present the high office of Secretary of State, and to accustom the public by degrees to see him acting in business in some office lower than what is now proposed. In such a situation he might ripen for the seals, so as to take them whenever His Majesty shall be disposed to give them, without that offence which such a sudden and unprecedented elevation I think must occasion.

"I flatter myself you will believe I am too sensible of the King's goodness to me, to pretend to put any negative upon those whom he shall

approve. I do not presume to suggest who is the most proper for that high office. I make no objection to any who is, in the public eye and opinion, big enough to fill it if Lord Egremont leaves it; whether it be Lord Gower, or any other person of that connection whom the King shall wish to bring forward, or of any other connection which is most agreeable to His Majesty; but what I have said is from a real sense of my duty and of my honour. I may possibly be mistaken, though my conviction is strongly otherwise, and I should indeed be wanting to both, if, before I entered upon such a situation, I did not state to you my opinion upon those parts of the system which have been opened to me, and upon the means proposed to carry them into execution. If your Lordship had allowed me to consult with some of those who must bear the greatest share in it, I should then have either verified my opinions or, from being convinced, should have changed them. But since I am not at liberty to do this, I must entreat you, in the meantime, to inform yourself how this will be received by the principal persons you mean to confide in, and to ask the cool opinion of neutral and indifferent people. If they concur with me, I am confident you will not desire me to give a more positive or final answer with regard to the part I am to bear, in a system which could not then

be formed in the manner it is proposed. For, if the public in general, a great part of the nobility, and some of the leading persons in the House of Commons should be indisposed to this appointment, your Lordship must see that my saying I am ready to bear any part, could be of no service whatever; but if it shall appear that what I have said on this occasion is not well founded, and that the most essential of these difficulties do not occur, I shall be glad that I have been mistaken, and the conviction that I have been so must necessarily alter my sentiments upon this subject, and you will then certainly find me, as you always have done, desirous and happy to devote myself to the service of my King and my country, thinking it the greatest honour that can befall me if I could do it with any degree of success in that high and important situation' to which the King's goodness and your Lordship's friendship has destined me.

"Upon the whole, whether I bear any part in this transaction or not, which perhaps, may be of little consequence to the public welfare, yet, let me beseech your Lordship, from your affection and duty to the King, and from what you owe to yourself and to your country, to give this subject a thorough examination before you determine upon a matter of this infinite moment; that if you still persist in your former resolution of retreat (which

I most earnestly wish you if possible to reconsider), the establishment which the King shall now think fit to make in his Government, may be such a one as will reflect honour on your Lordship who advised it, and give that permanency and stability which, in the present crisis, is essentially necessary to his administration.

"I am now only to ask pardon for the length of my letter; this interesting subject made it unavoidable, and I have explained my sentiments thus fully to your Lordship, not only that you may be apprized of them, but that you may be enabled to represent them in their true light to the King if he should ever condescend to enquire about them, and that he may not think me more unworthy than I am of his royal favour; give me leave to add that I esteem it a peculiar happiness that they will be transmitted through the channel of a friend so partially disposed to me, and to whom I feel myself so sensibly obliged."

Shelburne, on finding that the views of Bute as to his own advancement were not shared by Grenville, expressed his complete readiness to stand aside "that the ground might be enlarged by more necessary people."* Bute, however, still insisted on his forming a part of the new arrangements, and again offered him the Board of Trade.

* Shelburne to Bute, March 1763.

It is probable that the anxiety of Shelburne to serve in a Ministry which was to be under the secret influence of Bute, and stood condemned by popular opinion to fall within the year and probably even before meeting Parliament, was not very much greater than his anxiety had been to serve under Bute when Prime Minister. But the ambiguous position then occupied by the Board of Trade was another reason for declining the offer now made to him. The Board at that time had only a quasi-independent position. It framed instructions without power to enforce them, or to propose measures to put them into execution. It took cognizance of all events and might investigate, give information or advice, but it had no authority to form an ultimate decision on any political question whatever.* It had been the constant object of the busy Halifax, during his long tenure of the Presidency of the Board, to make his office independent of that of the Secretary of State for the Southern department, and in 1751 on the resignation of the seals by the Duke of Bedford, he obtained an agreement that the whole patronage and correspondence of the Colonies should be vested in it. Still, the independence of the Board was not yet perfect, for on important matters

* See Bancroft. History of the United States, vol. iii. pp. 14, 15, 62, 73, 194.

Governors might address the Secretary of State, through whom also nominations to office were to be laid before the King in Council. On the formation of the Newcastle-Pitt coalition in 1757, Halifax disappointed in his hope of becoming a third Secretary of State, was confirmed in his old post as President of the Board, and included in the Cabinet - of which he had not hitherto been a member. When, in 1761, Halifax became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Sandys succeeded him as President of the Board, the arrangements which had existed previous to 1751 were restored, but Charles Townshend, the successor of Lord Sandys in 1762, obtained the same powers which Halifax had enjoyed. He was also a Cabinet Councillor. Still, even with the addition of this dignity, the power of the Board was not equal to the responsibility with which, in the eyes of the world, it seemed to be clothed, and the Presidency had seldom been a source of satisfaction to those who filled it; least of all was it likely to be so at a period when all the difficult questions left open by the peace were calling for settlement.*

"To render the Colonies still more considerable to Britain" writes a memorialist at this period, "and the management of their affairs much more

* See a volume entitled "Papers relative to the Two Offices of Secretary of State and Board of Trade. Lansdowne House MSS.

easy to the King and His Ministers at home, it would be convenient to appoint particular Officers in England, only for the dispatch of business belonging to the Plantations. For often persons that come from America on purpose either to complain or to support their own just rights, are at a loss how or where to apply; this uncertainty does not only fatigue the Ministers, but frequently terminates in the destruction of the party, by his being referred from Office to Office, until both his money and patience be quite worn out. Such things in time may cool people's affections, and give them too mean an opinion of the justice of their Mother-Country, which ought carefully to be prevented; for where there is liberty, the inhabitants will certainly expect right, and still have an eye towards obtaining it one way or other.

"It may be considered therefore, how far it would be serviceable to put all the Crown's civil Officers in the Plantations, of what kind soever, under the direction of the Board of Trade, from whom they might receive their several deputations and appointments, and unto whom they ought to be accountable both for their receipts and management; and if a particular Secretary was appointed for the Plantation affairs only, or if the first Lord Commissioner of that Board was permitted to have daily access to the King in order to receive His

Majesty's commands in all business relating to the Plantations, the subjects' application would be reduced into so narrow a compass, and the Board of Trade would be always so perfectly acquainted with the King's pleasure, that great dispatch might be given even to distant matters, without taking up too much of the Ministry's time and interfering, perhaps, with other more important business."*

Under the influence of similar feelings Shelburne made his acceptance of the Board conditional on having equal access to the King with the Secretary of State. "I have been happy," he wrote to Bute, "to accommodate in every particular, as well in the first instance as to Secretary of State, and its being mentioned to the other Ministers, or the second idea of an opening being kept for Lord Egremont, which if the Duke of Bedford accepts President cannot be. But excuse my mentioning it, because I do so to justify my making a point of having equal access to the King with the other Ministers, and I should not do that, if I did not believe it in my conscience to His Majesty's advantage as well as to that of the whole system, till occasion come of his fulfilling your Lordship's very kind advice to him upon my subject."†

To this letter Bute replied:

* Lansdowne House MSS.

† Shelburne to Bute, March 28, 1763.

"Can you doubt at present my affection to you, and yet I almost fear some of the lazy people round you will make you waver in that essential point, as I am too frank in my nature to express an idea to you I don't think. What you hint at of opening the situation I shall be required to see you in, would begin the scenes of jealousy that I wish earnestly to prevent, and be productive of no good. I am sure of what I say; but suffer me to speak plainly. When you declined accepting the Board of Trade one morning Oswald was with me, I understood it from a noble wish to leave as large a field for arrangement as possible, but on reflecting on what you said last night, and on your letter now before me, I think it seems more from not having it in your power to support your friends directly with the King, which indeed cannot be at present. Calcraft and all around you suggest these ideas. I know this from yourself. But, my dear Lord, how contradictory is this to the plan taken, how impossible for me to bring about, and how sure a nest-egg of ministerial discord at our first setting out. Shall I desire you not to listen to interested men; they live without you, and estimate their own consideration by yours. I fear my reasoning will be weak in your eyes, and yet if you enter into Government, secretly displeased at the want of something you have not, you will not, and cannot act with the

cordiality necessary at this critical minute. I had the Secretaries with me to-day, and laid the foundation in their Minds of real confidence with you. Halifax was fuller than the other in his declarations, both very proper, and they will both send to you. (I mentioned your friend Gordon to Egremont.) If you care for it do the same, in short, my Lord, 'Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt, discordiâ,' &c., &c. Alas, alas!" *

An interview, in consequence of this letter, took place with Grenville at which the point was finally settled on the old footing, Shelburne waiving his claims, and on April 7th, he was able to write to Bute, "As to myself be assured there will not be a more good-humoured and less complaining member of the Cabinet, and very decided." He joined the Cabinet, and was sworn a Privy Councillor on April 20th. Calcraft hearing of the appointment, and of the continued outcry raised by the friends of Lord Holland, advised Shelburne to be firm at his new post notwithstanding their abuse. "I am, and ever shall be thankful, for the handsome and steady part your Lordship has acted towards me, and let what will be the fate of our Politics, we

* Bute to Shelburne, March 29, 1763. Lord Halifax and Lord Egremont were the two Secretaries of State in this short-lived Administration, and with Grenville were known as "the Triumvirate."

shall, I hope live happy in our friendship: and you shall in every station find me truly devoted to you. If my letter has vexed it has answered one purpose.* The galled horse will wince, and strong truths will affect the most hardened heart; I cannot feel sorry at your reproach, because you have shown sense and firmness as well as the utmost activity in the part you have taken this winter, and gained universal credit. You will find it more difficult to retire than you imagine, for, on cool reflection, they will not drive from them the only man whose honor and ability they can confide in. That you have stood forth in support of me does and ever will afford a satisfaction nothing can erase from my memory, and be assured, my dear Lord, that in all times and on all occasions I shall ever remain, as I now am,†

"Most respectfully, faithfully, and

"Affectionately yours,

"J. CALCRAFT."

* Alluding to a letter he had written to Lord Holland.

† Calcraft to Shelburne, April 30.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRESIDENCY OF THE BOARD OF TRADE.

1763.

On the 5th of May, 1763, Egremont wrote to Shelburne and his colleagues at the Board of Trade: "North America naturally offers itself as the principal object of your Lordships' consideration upon this occasion, with regard to which I shall first obey His Majesty's commands, in proposing to your Lordships some general questions, before I proceed to desire you will furnish that information which His Majesty expects from your Lordships, with regard to the northern or southern parts of this continent considered separately.

"The questions which relate to North America in general are,

"1st. What new Governments should be established there? what form should be adopted for such a Government? and where the capital or residence of each Governor should be fixed?

"2ndly. What military establishment will be sufficient? what new forts should be erected? and which, if any, may it be expedient to demolish?

"3rdly. In what way, least burthensome and most palatable to the Colonies, can they contribute towards the support of the additional expense which must attend their civil and military establishments upon the arrangement which your Lordships shall propose?"

Such were the directions of the Secretary of State, assuming the expediency of taxation, and only leaving the mode of it to be determined; but the North America of which he spoke was at the time only a geographical expression, with its civilized portion divided into governments as different in size and various in constitution as the petty states of Italy before 1860, but with this difference that whereas the latter constituted so many varieties of absolutism, the former were the mixed but healthy outcome of English freedom.

The royal colonies,* with the exception of Georgia, which since the surrender of its charter was practically ruled from Whitehall, were governed in one uniform manner by a Governor, Council, and

* The report on the Colonial Constitutions prepared by Mr. James Abercromby in 1754 for the Board of Trade, and now among the Lansdowne MSS., has been much relied on in the above sketch.

Assembly, making three distinct branches of Legislature in imitation of King, Lords, and Commons in this kingdom. The Governor and the Members constituting the Council were appointed by the Crown, and on their first appointment received from the Crown, as rules for their particular conduct, instructions calculated according to the powers vested in such Governors by virtue of letters-patent under the great Seal. Through the whole of these royal provinces, viz., North and South Carolina, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, and New Hampshire then including Vermont, these powers were uniform as to essential matters of Government, and differed no further than as the local and particular circumstances required. The Council acted in a double capacity, viz., in matters of State as a Council to advise the Governor, who was constrained by special instructions to take its opinion on particular occasions, and in legislative matters as a distinct branch of the Legislature, in which capacity it acted alone without the presence of the Governor. The Assembly constituted the third branch of the Legislature, and consisted of the representatives of the people, chosen by the freeholders according to provincial Acts of Assembly. Bills read three times in both Houses of Assembly, when assented to by the Governor thenceforward became laws to all intents and purposes, and operated imme-

diately unless they contained suspending clauses to the effect that they were not to take effect till His Majesty's pleasure was declared. The Crown at the same time was not so far bound by the assent of the Governor, but that at any time within a certain limited period, the King with the advice of his Privy Council, might repeal such provincial Acts. Thus the Crown might be said to have two negatives in the Legislature, one through the Governor and another of its own. All judicial proceedings were cognizable before the Courts of Appeal in England, when the matter at issue amounted to a certain sum. The Judges appointed by the Crown or by the Governor held during pleasure, except in New York.

In the charter colonies a far different state of things existed. In Maryland, the charter of which contained the most extensive powers of any in English America, the power of making laws was vested in the proprietary with the assent and approbation of the freemen of the province. No right was reserved to the Crown of invalidating these laws, so long as they were not repugnant from, but as nearly as might be agreeable to the laws of this country. Under the charter as modified by an Act of William III., the Governor was appointed by the proprietary conjointly with the Crown, but the Judges and all other officers were appointed by the proprietary or

the Governor or his deputy, and though the Act of Navigation and the Laws of Trade were held to restrain the commercial liberties granted by the charter, the words of the grant still remained, which said: "the Crown at no time thereafter shall impose or cause to be imposed any taxes or contributions upon the inhabitants of Maryland, or the goods and merchandize within the province or the shipping in its ports."

In Connecticut the Assembly was elected by the freemen of the province. On meeting, it elected the Governor, Deputy Governor, and twelve assistants, who, forming one collective body with the elected representatives, made laws subject to the same limitation as in the case of Maryland, and appointed Judges and all officers, superior and inferior. In Rhode Island, the constitution was almost exactly the same as in Connecticut, but there was a proviso of doubtful import at the close of its charter, by which, in all controversies "of a public nature," the appeal was to be to the King and his successors.

In Pennsylvania, the proprietary or his deputy whom he appointed conjointly with the Crown, could under the charter enact laws for raising money and other purposes of Government, to be made with the advice of the representatives of the freemen of the province assembled for that

purpose. The laws were not to be repugnant to those of the mother-country. The Governor appointed all Judges and other officers, but the charter saved and reserved to His Majesty the hearing and determining of the appeals of all persons belonging to Pennsylvania. The charter also provided an adequate machinery for the disallowance of illegal Acts, and specially reserved from the powers of commercial legislation which it granted, such impositions and Customs as by Act of Parliament should be appointed. In Massachusetts the Governor was appointed by the Crown, but the Council was elected by the Assembly itself elected by the freeholders. The Governor, with the advice of his Council, appointed the Judges who held during good behaviour. An appeal lay to the King in Council whenever the matter in issue was above £300 value. The laws passed by the Assembly were not to be repugnant to those of England. The Assembly appointed all the civil officers except the Judges, and had power to impose taxes, which were to be issued and disposed of by warrant under the hand of the Governor with the advice and consent of the Council. The Governor had a negative on all legislation. All laws were to be transmitted home, and if not disallowed within three years, to remain in force. The jurisdiction of the English Admiralty Court, was expressly reserved by the charter.

In all the colonies, the Governor had power to prorogue and dissolve the Assemblies, but the time of their meeting and the duration of their sittings were in every case ascertained. The right of taxation was recognized as belonging to the Assemblies, and special mention had been made of it in the charters of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. But there was another question, not so easy of answer as that of the right of the colonies to tax themselves, viz.: whether the colonies could be taxed by any one besides themselves. This question was that to which an affirmative answer was assumed in the third query of the despatch addressed by Egremont to Shelburne.

Two theories on the subject of taxation had for a long time divided the lawyers and statesmen both of the mother-country and of the colonies: on the one hand, that of taxation by the Crown in virtue of its prerogative; on the other, that of taxation by Parliament considered as part of its general legislative power. The first had naturally found favour before the Revolution of 1688, but only a fruitless attempt had been made by Halifax and Townshend to revive it in 1753; the second had, as naturally, prevailed since the Revolution. The law of the question might now be said to depend on the opinion given by Sir Philip Yorke—afterwards Lord Hardwicke—and Sir Clement Wearg in

1724, "that a colony of English subjects cannot be taxed but by some representative body of their own or by the Parliament of England;" and in that given by Sir William Murray—afterwards Lord Mansfield—and Sir Dudley Ryder in 1744, "that a colonial Assembly cannot be compelled to do more towards their own defence than they shall see fit, unless by the force of an Act of Parliament which alone can prescribe rules of conduct for them." The theory embodied in these opinions were supported by appeals to the relations between the ancient colonies, and their mother-cities and, what was of more importance, by a certain number of modern precedents. How vague and ill ascertained however these theories were, may be seen by reference to the judgment of Lord Mansfield, in the case of Campbell *v.* Hall, given a year after this time, viz., July 20th, 1764, the exhaustive and careful character of which is in itself a proof how little understood Lord Mansfield considered the bare law of the question to be, and how necessary it had become to give some clear and decisive exposition of its principles, which like so much of English law, were altogether out of keeping with existing facts. The general result of that judgment, given upon an appeal coming from the island of Grenada—one of the cessions of the Treaty of 1763—was, that between colonies acquired

by conquest or by cession, and those acquired by occupancy, i.e., what were popularly termed "settled colonies," there was a legal distinction; that whereas, in the former, the Crown could legislate by the sole royal prerogative exercised in its executive capacity in subordination to the legislative power of the Imperial Parliament, in the latter a representative Assembly must share in legislation, including taxation; the legislative power of the Assembly however, to be always held in subordination to that of the Parliament.* The American colonies clearly fell into the latter category.

It was consistently with this doctrine of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament that the Colonial system had bound the trade between England and America with a complicated series of chains and fetters rendered barely tolerable by extensive smuggling, and the open connivance in many cases of the port authorities at the violation of their own rules. But the matter was not to end there. The Board of Trade had observed with satisfaction that, "upon a consideration of the past history of the Colonies, not only their latitude in trade but also in their government had from time to time been limited and restrained so as to render

* Campbell *v.* Hall, 1 vol. of Cowper's Reports. Sir Edward Creasy in his "Constitutions of the Britannic Empire," has given a useful *précis* of the case.

them more dependent on England. Thus the Acts of Navigation had restrained the powers of trade granted by the charter of Maryland, and thus too the Crown had confined the powers of trade within certain limits in the case of Pennsylvania; and several other limitations in point of government were contained in its charter, which were not in those of Maryland, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, as for example the obligation to transmit home all laws passed in Pennsylvania, and to submit to the disannulling of such laws if not approved of. So too, the right of appealing to the King in Council was in the Rhode Island charter expressly reserved, which was not the case in either of the two charters which had preceded it. Again, the last charter to Massachusetts* was much more limited than the first, and express reservation had been made in it of the Admiralty jurisdiction. So also the charter to Georgia had only twenty-one years' duration, and the powers under it were then to revert to the Crown." † By such gradual limitations as these it had come to pass (under the *régime* of the revolution) that the extensive political rights and commercial liberties granted to the colonies by the Stuart kings in virtue of their

* The original charter had been invalidated under a *quo warranto* in the last years of Charles II. A fresh charter was granted under William III.

† Abercromby's Report.

prerogative had been lessened, until at last the theory of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was brought forward to override the rights of the colonial assemblies to tax themselves for the purposes of revenue.

The revenue of the different states of North America consisted, broadly speaking, of two different parts, that raised by taxation and originating in votes of supply, and that springing from independent sources, such as rents, fines, escheats, quit-rents,* and forfeitures. The relative proportions of these two items of revenue varied enormously, and according as the second was greater or smaller, the dependence of the Governor on the Assembly was small or great. In North and South Carolina a considerable royal revenue in theory existed, but it was so difficult of collection as to be of little practical value; in Virginia and Maryland the opposite was the case, whilst in Pennsylvania, New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, the independent proprietary or royal revenue was either altogether inadequate for the purposes of government or practically did not exist at all.

Thus in the great majority of the States, the

* Franklin, in the second Appendix to the "Memorandum on the Settlement of Ohio" (1770), represents the income arising from quit-rents as having been practically nil for many years. (Life and works, vol. i. 240.)

Governor was dependent on the Assembly, not merely for the supplies which a period of war or other special causes might render necessary, but for the ordinary expenses of Government, including his own salary and those of every officer in the Colony.

In England this civil list was given to the Crown for life at the beginning of each reign, and the sum so voted was considering the uses to which it was applied, a source of power even in a country where it bore but a small proportion to the whole expenses of Government; but in most of the colonies an annual vote for the expenses of Government carefully appropriated the sums voted to the holders of each individual civil office—the practice resembling the present procedure of the House of Commons in regard to the Civil Service estimates—so that the recipient of the money and the amount he received could be publicly known. It was the desire of the Governors to obtain a large and permanent revenue, not depending on annual votes, and not so carefully appropriated as to deprive them of all latitude in its expenditure, and their patrons at home found in the alleged unwillingness of the colonies to bear their due proportion of joint expenses, an excuse to join the Governors in the demands which the latter had long been making to be set free from the trammels of the

Colonial Constitutions, either by the Assemblies voting a permanent revenue or in default by the Parliament of England interfering over the heads of the Assemblies.

Affairs had about this time come to a crisis. England had gone to war with France for the possession of the valleys of the Mississippi and the Ohio, and had prevailed; but the struggle had been costly, and it was anticipated that fresh expenses would be incurred in the settlement of the new territories, the benefits of the acquisition of which were justly held to belong as much to the States as to the mother-country, and the costs accordingly of their conquest and retention to be as much a Colonial as an English charge. It was under these circumstances that Charles Townshend, when President of the Board of Trade, inspired by the example and traditions of Halifax, and with stanch supporters in Mansfield and Grenville, resolved to tax the colonies by authority of Parliament, and devised an elaborate scheme for that effect, but the time and the forms of the House of Commons were against him, and on the 29th March, 1763, the Bill was for the present abandoned. A few weeks more and Charles Townshend himself had left the scene of his mischievous activity, not however before he had helped Grenville to pass a measure extending and making clear the powers of the Courts of Admiralty

under the Navigation Acts, had decided that the tenure of the Chief Justice of New York which had hitherto been *quam diu se bene gesserit*, should be at the royal pleasure, and that a standing army of twenty regiments should be sent to America, the pay of which was to be defrayed for one year out of English revenue and afterwards from colonial sources—regiments, the presence of which would be beneficial or dangerous exactly as they were used, either to defend the frontiers against the Indians, or to overawe the settlers in their homes.

Such were the legacies which Shelburne found left to him by his predecessors when he received the despatch of the 5th May from Egremont, calling his attention to the new possessions of England in America and the questions to which their acquisition gave rise, but assuming the policy previously settled by Grenville and Townshend to be substantially sound.

The reply of the Board * gave scant encouragement to the schemes of Townshend and Grenville. After shewing that as the new territories were for the most part but sparsely populated, it would be almost impossible to establish in them at once the machinery of a regular civil government, it

* Reply of the Board of Trade, June 8th, 1763. "Observations" by Governor Pownall, June 1763; "Observations" by Lord Shelburne, May 1763.

proposed to confine the number of new states to two, viz., Canada and Florida, extending at the same time the boundaries of Georgia to its present limits, and to leave the vast territory westward of the Apalachian Mountains and the great lakes to the Indians who acknowledged the sovereignty of George III., but open to the free trade of all the King's subjects, under the protection of such military force in the different forts and posts of the Indian country as might be judged necessary. It then went on to say, "We shall defer at present entering into any particulars as to the number of troops which it may be necessary to maintain for this purpose, the number and situation of the posts and forts, and the regulations proper to be established for a free trade from all your Majesty's Colonies into the Indian country, till by further information from your Majesty's Commander-in-Chief in America, and from your Majesty's Agents for Indian Affairs, we shall be able to make a more full and particular Report upon so interesting and important a subject; and we apprehend that no such delay can be attended with any material inconvenience, since if your Majesty should be pleased to adopt the general propositions of having a large tract of country round the great lakes as an Indian country open to trade, but not to grants and settlements, the limits of each

territory will be sufficiently ascertained by the bounds to be given to the Governors of Canada and Florida on the north and south, and the Mississippi in the west, and by the strict directions to be given to your Majesty's several Governors of your ancient colonies, for preventing their making any new grants of lands beyond certain fixed limits to be laid down in the instructions for that purpose; and we apprehend that in the mean-time, the security of the trade will be sufficiently provided for by the forts already erected, and such garrisons as your Commander-in-Chief may at his direction think proper to keep in them.

"But that no time may be lost in finally settling this important point of the Indian country, it will be absolutely necessary that immediate orders be sent as well to your Majesty's Commander-in-Chief of America, as to your Majesty's Agents for Indian Affairs, that without delay they furnish every information in their power on this subject, and that they be directed to correspond directly with your Majesty's Board of Trade for this purpose.

"Canada, Florida, and the newly acquired islands in the West Indies appear to us to be the places where planting perpetual settlements and cultivation ought to be encouraged, and consequently where regular forms of government must be immediately established.

"Canada, as possessed and claimed by the French consisted of an immense tract of country, including as well the whole lands to the westward indefinitely, which was the subject of their Indian trade, as all that country from the southern bank of the River St. Lawrence, where they had carried on their encroachments.

"It is needless to state with any degree of precision the bounds and limits of this extensive country, for we should humbly propose to your Majesty that the new Government of Canada should be restricted so as to leave, on the one hand all the lands lying about the great lakes and the sources of the rivers which fall into the River St. Lawrence from the north to be thrown into the Indian country, and on the other hand all the lands from Cape Roziere to Lake Champlain along the heights where the sources of the river rise which fall into the Bay of Fundy and Atlantic Ocean to be annexed to Nova Scotia and New England, in such manner as upon any future directions after particular surveys have been made shall appear most proper. If this general idea shall be approved the future bounds of the new Colony of Canada will be as follows:

"On the south-east it will be bounded by the high lands which range across the continent from Cape Roziere in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to that point of Lake Champlain above St. John's which

is in latitude 45° north, which high lands separate the heads of the rivers which fall into the great River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean or Bay of Fundy.

"On the north-west it will be bounded by a line drawn south-west from the River St. John's, by the heads of those rivers which fall into the River St. Lawrence, as far as the east end of the Lake Nipissing upon the Ottawa River, and on the south-west by a line drawn due west to the River St. Lawrence, from that point on Lake Champlain which is directly opposite to where the south line falls in, and so cross the said River St. Lawrence, and pursuing a north-west course along the heights where the rivers rise which fall into the Ottawa River, to be continued to the east end of Lake Nipissing, where the north line terminates."*

It was clear that if the vast uncultivated territory recently acquired by England were annexed to Canada, the government of that colony, even if theoretically civil, would in practice become military, nor were there wanting those in England who would not have looked upon such a state of things with an unfavourable eye, as the opinion

* The line thus indicated was clearly traced out on a map appended to the despatch, both of which may still be seen at the Record Office.

of General Murray, the Governor designate of the new colony, recorded by himself many years after, clearly shows.* Canada would then have overawed the colonies south and east of it, exactly as it had done in former years before the final removal of those French garrisons, in the presence of which acute continental statesmen had seen the surest guarantee for the continuance of English rule over the states on the seaboard.† In his despatch of the 8th June, Shelburne had stated that the advantages resulting from the restriction of the bounds of the colony of Canada would be those "of preventing by proper and natural boundaries, as well the ancient French inhabitants as others, from removing and settling in remote places where they neither could be so conveniently made amenable to the jurisdiction of any colony, or made subservient to the interest of the trade and commerce of this kingdom by an easy communication with and vicinity to the great River St. Lawrence. The division," he continued, "by the heights of the land to the south of the River St. Lawrence, will on the one hand, leave all your Majesty's new French subjects under such government as your Majesty shall think proper to continue to them, in

* M. Frances au Duc de Choiseul, September 2nd, 1768.

† See on the above subject the authorities quoted by Mr. Bancroft, vol. iii. ch. xx. and vol. iv. ch. viii.

regard to the rights and usages already secured or that may be granted to them. On the other hand, the re-annexing to Nova Scotia all that tract of land from the Cape Roziere, along the Gulph of St. Lawrence with the whole coast of the Bay of Fundy to the River Penobscot or to the River St. Croix, will be attended with this peculiar advantage of leaving so extensive a line of sea coast to be settled by British subjects, and all the new settlers upon this tract of land will with greater facility be made amenable to the jurisdiction of Nova Scotia than to that of Canada, and upon this same principle it will likewise be necessary to re-annex the Islands of Cape Breton and St. John's to the government of Nova Scotia." In his reply Egremont immediately refused to allow the Board of Trade to correspond directly with the Commander-in-Chief in America, and proposed to include in the new province, all the great lakes, and all the Ohio valley to the Mississippi.* Shelburne however remained firm. "If this great country," he said, "should be annexed to the government of Canada, we are apprehensive that the powers of such government would not be properly carried into execution, either in respect to the Indians or British traders unless by means of the garrisons at the different posts and forts in that country, which must contain

* Egremont to Shelburne, July 14th, 1763.

the greatest part of your Majesty's American forces, and the Governor of Canada would become virtually Commander-in-Chief, or constant and inextricable disputes would arise between him and the commanding officers of your British troops."* The opinion of Shelburne for the time carried the day and the idea of the great military colony was abandoned.†

American historians ‡ have seen in the policy thus pursued a deliberate intention of closing the West for ever against further emigration, from the fear that remote colonies would claim the independence which their position would favour. The statesmen of the eighteenth century have follies enough to answer for without charging them with this in addition. However impossible it was in practice to dam up the ever advancing tide of the English race, it was equally impossible in theory openly to avow the intention of dispossessing the still powerful savage nations,§ which were bound to England by numerous Conventions, and were regarded for the most part as the subjects of George III., equally entitled with the inhabitants of Boston or even of

* Shelburne to Egremont, August 5th, 1763.

† Egremont to Hillsborough, September 19th, 1763.

‡ E.g., Bancroft, vol. iv. page 116.

§ At the time of the controversy between Lord Shelburne and Lord Egremont the great Indian war led by Pontiac was raging.

London to the protection of his government.* To adjust the relations between savage and civilized man during the period of the struggle which can have but one result, is a task as difficult as it is thankless, but American Presidents have not been accused of attempting to prevent further colonization of their continent, because they have from time to time issued proclamations ascertaining and attempting to protect the ever retiring bounds of the Indian reservations.

To the last question contained in the despatch of the Secretary of State—that which related to colonial taxation—the Board of Trade sent the following answer:

"It now only remains that, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, we give our opinions upon the mode of revenue least burthensome and most palatable to the Colonies, whereby they can contribute to the additional expense which must attend the civil and military establishments adopted on the present occasion, but on this point of the highest importance, it is entirely out of our power to form any opinion which we could presume to offer for your Majesty's consideration, as most of the materials necessary to form a just and accurate judgment upon it are not within reach of our office. Such as can be procured shall be collected with all

* See Franklin's paper on the Settlement of Ohio, 1770.

possible dispatch, and shall at any time, be laid before your Majesty in such manner as you shall please to direct." *

Thus the difficulty was for the time evaded, but before it could be again approached, events had taken place which installed a President at the Board of Trade more willing than Shelburne to fall in with the schemes of Grenville for promoting the Imperial supremacy of the mother-country, for differences of opinion on colonial policy did not alone alienate Shelburne from his colleagues, as will now be seen. The Ministry had hardly been formed a few days before Shelburne found himself as little able as his predecessors had been to agree with the Secretary of State on the proper methods of conducting colonial business, and had addressed a memorandum to Egremont, which after pointing out the necessity of a clear understanding, continued to say:

"Before the year 1752, Governors and other chief officers in the plantations were directed by their instructions to correspond with and transmit accounts of all their proceedings and of all occurrences in their respective departments to the Secretary of State and to the Board of Trade.

"A constitution of this kind is improper upon the face of it, and would under any circumstances be defective, inconvenient, and embarrassed, and

* Shelburne to Egremont, June 8, 1763.

though a friendly intercourse and correspondence between office and office might obviate some of the inconveniences and difficulties it is liable to, yet that being a case seldom existing and never to be relied upon, it frequently happened that contradictory orders were given by the different officers upon the same points, and more frequently in affairs of difficulty and delicacy no orders were given at all, the responsibility of both officers being set aside by each having it in his power to throw the blame upon the other.

"The confusion and embarrassment arising to the King's affairs, and the prejudice and perplexity to those of individuals, who knew not which office to apply to, and were frequently referred from one to another without finding redress in either, gave rise to the Order in Council of the 11th March, 1752, which after vesting in the Board of Trade the patronage of offices, directs that, for the future, Governors shall correspond only with that Board upon all affairs relative to their governments except in cases of such nature and importance as might require His Majesty's more immediate direction by one of his Secretaries of State, and except also upon all occasions whereon they might receive His Majesty's commands through the Secretary of State, in which cases they were to correspond with the Secretary of State only.

"The intentions of these exceptions are well known, the supposed cases were, first, a correspondence which might pass between a Secretary of State and the Governor of any foreign colony upon points which might become subjects of discussion between the different States at home; and, secondly, a state of war, in which all directions must necessarily be given by the Secretary of State.

"As the words of the Order were general, and the cases alluded to not expressed, the communication of this Order to the Board of Trade was accompanied with a letter from the Secretary of State to the Board and the copy of one from him to the Governors explanatory of these exceptions, which letters clearly mark out the intention, and confine the construction to the two cases above mentioned, as will fully appear from the annexed copies of the letters themselves and the Order.

"The case of war, principally excepted in the Order that restrains the correspondence to the Board of Trade, existing very soon after it was issued, and almost every material transaction of Government in the plantations, both executive or legislative, having reference more or less to this state, the chief correspondence with respect to those colonies which were immediately in the property and possession of the Crown, necessarily passed into the Secretary of State's Office, and with respect to

those which were acquired by the success of our arms, they being held necessarily under military government as possessions the fate of which depended upon the issue of the war, they were necessarily and properly under the immediate care and direction of the Secretary of State.

"The war being now happily ended, and the most important of our acquisitions in America ceded to His Majesty, it becomes necessary to consider in what way the affairs of America in general are to be administered for the future, and whether the regulations made in the year 1752, in respect to the correspondence, are or are not to take place, and how they are to be understood.

"It appears that upon Mr. Townshend's entry upon his office, the Board of Trade did notify their appointment to all the American Governors, as well of the old established as the new acquired colonies, and did transmit to them at the same time copies of the Order of Council of the 11th of March, 1752, and the explanatory letters of the Secretary of State as the rule of their future correspondence.

"The Board, though fully convinced of the propriety of that regulation in every view and consideration of it, and that American affairs can never be administered with advantage to the public or satisfaction to the subject, whilst the correspondence is divided between the two Offices, yet

as the Board of Trade have not received His Majesty's commands in respect to the new acquisitions, and as many things may be in agitation and remain to be done by the Secretary of State in reference to the Treaty and to the Settlement of Indian affairs under the direction of the Commander-in-Chief, he does not think it advisable to take the step Mr. Townshend took which it is conceived may possibly embarrass His Majesty's Service and produce inconveniences; hoping and wishing for such an explanation with the Secretary of State upon this and every other point that regards the office His Majesty has conferred upon him, as may be for their mutual satisfaction, and may obviate any disagreeable circumstance whatever that may occur to affect the stability of the present system, or that harmony and good-will which he does most sincerely and cordially wish to see take place and for ever remain between the two Offices."

In reply to this communication, Egremont stated that he was not prepared upon the subject; that he had never read the Commission of the Board of Trade; and at the same time spoke of the great fatigue he had recently undergone; whereupon Shelburne rather unceremoniously told him he must expect more if the affairs of America were to be put in order.* Thus to differences of opinion on

* Shelburne to Bute, April 26th, 1763.

questions of policy were superadded the old feuds as to official rights, and to these the first important communications exchanged between the two offices had given a practical importance.*

But it was not only on colonial affairs that Shelburne was at variance with his colleagues. He differed from them on the subject of the arrest of Wilkes. He had joined the Ministry and been sworn a Privy Councillor on the 20th April. On the 23rd, No. 45 of the *North Briton* appeared, and on the 24th the warrant for the arrest of its author was issued from the office of the Secretary of State under the hand of Halifax, who had neither waited to consult the law officers nor, as it would appear, any of his colleagues, except the other two members of the triumvirate, Grenville and Egremont, who with him constituted the real Government.† Almost immediately after the issue of the warrant, Shelburne asked the opinion of a professional adviser as to the legality of the course adopted; and received a reply condemning the whole conduct of Halifax in the clearest and strongest terms. As Shelburne, towards the close of the year, consulted the same legal adviser on the further issues raised by the arrest of Wilkes, it is probable that

* See *supra*, as to the correspondence with the Commander-in-Chief in America.

† The arrest of Wilkes did not actually take place till the 30th of April.

the opinion given on the present occasion was well received.*

Thus the Secretaries of State and the President of the Board of Trade disagreed on almost every important question, and although the King, at the advice of Mansfield, "supported the latter against Egremont in order to play them one against the other and so keep the power in his own hands,"† yet, by the end of June, so dissatisfied had Shelburne grown with the position of affairs that he sent Bute a note threatening to resign immediately. In reply, Bute wrote as follows:

"June 23rd.

"My dear Lord,—I do beseech you for the future spare me the pain of thinking that on my not answering a note, you can for a minute suppose the least diminution in my regard for you or friendship to you. I am not prone to enter into such tyes on slight ground, nor, when once made, to infringe them without serious reason, which, I flatter myself, Lord Shelburne can never give me. Having answered this part of your letter with the frankness that becomes a man and your friend, suffer me with the same freedom to touch some sentences that follow. You here (and I have observed it before on

* The lawyer was not Dunning, but most probably Glyn.

† Grenville Correspondence, ii. 238.

another occasion) state your entering into the King's Service as an act of personal friendship to me. I am so unwilling to refuse anything of that kind from you, that I will accept it in one light as such, but let me view it in others too. Let me with truth affirm that, when I recommended my friend to the King as a person whose talents for business far advanced his age, I also had that friend's advantage in view.

"The Board of Trade at your age, my dear Lord, and at the critical minute of this peace, appears to me one of the greatest situations this country can afford and the very noblest field you can possibly exercise your talents in. Ambition ought to be satisfied and every day you discharge your duty in this important trust, every report you draw, like the excellent one you have favoured me with,* lays in materials to raise your character, to make you known, to render you respected, and to take off that envy that in spite of your endeavours will exist from the few years of manhood you are able to count. Hear in me a friend that will not often trouble you with advice. Don't be concerned at want of information or the little paultry trappings of Ministry. If any around you whisper you are not of sufficient importance, hear them not. My Lord,

* It is not clear what this report was, but probably his reply to Egremont is meant.

they either talk ignorantly or selfishly, and in both cases foolishly; they will find that such impressions and the jealousys that ever attend them will by hurting you, root up their hopes. In short, both you and they will lose the end for want of patience in using the means to obtain it. Be satisfied with a rigid attendance on the duty of your office, and you will draw the tooth of envy, conciliate men to you, and be even better pleased with yourself, than by any other mode of action whatever. I am not sure I know you enough to judge of the manner you will take this advice, but I write it unprejudiced by party views or prejudice. I know it calculated for your interest and if it does not suit your plan, 'tis only a few minutes lost in decyphering this scrawl."

At the same time Weymouth, who declared he considered "his political existence" as connected with that of Shelburne, and was above all things anxious to gain him over to the Bedford faction, wrote:

"I am very sorry to find that since I saw you, you have had another reason to be offended of the same kind as the former; I am sure, if these matters are not cleared up soon, that things cannot go on; but at the same time I think that the strength and power of the persons whom you have so great reason to complain of, seem to be of so short a duration, that it is scarce worth your while to quarrel with them;

they cannot stand without your support, and you certainly will without theirs, but insults are not to be borne, and I can easily see, as I am sure you do, that your present situation is very critical." *

In deference to these persuasions, Shelburne gave up the idea of immediate resignation and waited, but not for long, for a great change was impending.

* Weymouth to Shelburne, June 16th, 1763.

CHAPTER V.

LORD SHELBURNE AND MR. PITT.

1763.

At the outset of his career, Shelburne was strongly prejudiced against Pitt. He had himself served in one of the abortive expeditions to the coast of France; he had seen the resources of his country wasted in glorious but useless struggles on German soil; returning home he had found Pitt, not only the chief support of the war policy, but in intimate alliance with the Newcastle Whigs of whose incapacity he had formed a strong opinion; he had attached himself to Bute; his most intimate friend had vehemently assailed Pitt; everything in fact had hitherto conspired to separate their paths. But in 1763 the war was concluded, and the preservation of peace—strange though it might have sounded a few years before—seemed likely to depend on the accession to office of Pitt, ever

since whose fall the country, torn by factions and the victim of short-lived administrations, had been a standing temptation to the renewal of the aggressive designs of the national enemy: so true is it at all times that a weak foreign policy is not the best but the worst security for the peace and prosperity of the country. Again, the alliance of Pitt and Newcastle was no longer as intimate as it had been. The former, courted in turn by every faction and the idol of the nation, knew that he could if necessary dispense with the aid of the latter, and it was in any case improbable that whatever arrangement the Great Commoner might make, he would fail to assign the Treasury to Temple instead of giving it as formerly to Newcastle. The peace he was willing to acquiesce in, now that it was made, while retaining all his old dislike for the authors of it.* But after giving due weight to altered circumstances, there can be little doubt that both absolutely and relatively the greatness of the character of Pitt had been slowly forcing itself on the mind of Shelburne, who though neither at this time nor subsequently remaining blind to the many failings and faults which disfigured and impaired it, was now far removed from the frame of mind in which two years before he had written to Blackstone at Oxford expressing no very

* "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham," i. 150.

high opinion of the popular hero.* He also knew that Pitt had expressed a favourable opinion of him, and praise coming from such a source doubtless had some effect.†

The circumstances of the time now came to give a peculiar importance to this change of opinion. At the time of the formation of the Grenville Ministry an unsuccessful attempt had been made to induce Bedford to form a part of the new arrangements, but the returned Ambassador, who had not yet forgiven Bute for having divulged—as he believed—his secret instructions to the French Minister, declined to accept office so long as his betrayer was to have any share, whether open or secret, in the direction of affairs.‡ The negociation thus broken off in April was renewed almost immediately after, and lasted intermittently all the summer,§ through the medium of Shelburne on the one side and Gower on the other, without however leading to any definite result; till in the month of August, the King who had by this time found the pedantry of Grenville absolutely intolerable,

* Blackstone to Shelburne, 19th October, 1761: "You know I have the happiness to concur with your Lordship in entertaining no very high opinion of the multitude's idol."

† Rigby to Shelburne, April 1763.

‡ Bedford to Bute, April 1763.

§ Walpole, "Memoirs," i. 287; Gower to Shelburne, June 20th, 1763.

resolved to get rid of him, and recall not only Bedford but Pitt and Temple as well. At the same moment the disagreements between Shelburne and Egremont were at their height, and the former was accordingly in every way disposed to be a ready instrument when Bute, having advised the King to dismiss Grenville, once more called him into the field as a negociator. On the one side he was influenced by his new admiration for Pitt; on the other, by his dislike of his present colleagues.

Considering the strong opposition which Pitt had offered to Bute, the decision now taken by the latter to approach him may seem extraordinary, but when it is recollected that at one period of their career they had been united, and that Pitt himself —even when most opposed to Bute politically— had never shown that violent personal objection to him as a man, which others such as Bedford openly boasted, the step may not seem so difficult of explanation, especially when the position of the Ministry is considered, the chief members of which were disliked by the King, and at variance with one another. Be that as it may, Bute had now determined to seek the evils he knew not of, rather than those of which he had daily experience, and commissioned Shelburne to treat not only as before with Bedford and Gower but with Pitt as well. Accepting the part tendered to him, Shelburne decided to

negociate with Bedford and Pitt through Calcraft, while to Gower he wrote himself as follows:

"I just hear that it is possible you may go into Staffordshire before my return, which I beg may not be, as I want very much to see you.

"There is not a man in England who is more against unnecessary changes of hands than myself, for the King's sake and for his country's sake, but by what I can observe every day, the present system grows more precarious, and it will be very necessary for your Lordship's sake, and for the sake of your friends, to have some fixed ideas about men and things before that time comes. Does the Duke of Bedford wish to come into employment? Rigby spoke of Mr. Pitt. Does he or does the Duke of Bedford know anything of Mr. Pitt's inclinations? I write this very much from my [ ]* but be assured that no time should be lost in taking some resolution, or knowing these things with some precision, and though I cannot give it to your Lordship, as anything else but my own opinion, yet I flatter myself from the confidence in that on former occasions, you will believe that I would not offer it to you if it was ungrounded."†

Gower replied, "There is no person, I hope and believe, wishes more to see the King relieved from

* A word was here illegible.

† Shelburne to Gower, August 8th, 1763.

his present difficulties, and to see this country settled upon a plan of solidity, than your humble servant, nor will anybody be more ready to give his assistance to the completion of it. Calcraft will give your Lordship an account of what state the matter you entrusted him with is in, and what methods have been taken to sound the parties. The only thing worth observation at Court to day, was an audience which Lord Chief Justice Mansfield had previous to the levée, and which lasted above an hour." *

It soon appeared that Bedford was willing to join with Gower in entering the Ministry. He still however made one condition. It was the banishment of Bute, not only from the royal closet, but even from London. The negociations in consequence came to a stand-still, for Bute was not yet prepared to suffer so great an indignity at the bidding of his former colleague. This determination on the part of Bute had other consequences. Bedford, in an interview with the King had led him to suppose on the authority of Bute himself, that it was the intention of the latter to retire from London, as well as from active interference in business. Nothing was further from Bute's intention. Considering that the message from Bute had been originally given to Shelburne, who had confided it to Calcraft, who had passed

* Gower to Shelburne, August 10th.

it on to Rigby, who had given it to Bedford, it is not very astonishing if some confusion was the consequence. Meanwhile an angry correspondence ensued, in which every one appealed to his neighbour. "I write to you," says Shelburne to Bute, "merely on what I have heard of the Duke of Bedford's conversation yesterday, and to tell you, what you may suppose, that I am exceedingly sorry if any part of it tended to a want of the tenderest sense of the many favours he and his friends have received from you, many of which coming through my hands and with my knowledge, I should be sorry you did not think I did full justice to your intentions, and that I and those I have any influence over, are of a different opinion. I protest I am, and I hope by what I have heard, Mr. Pitt is. But I own I am anxious to confirm you in it, that you should be as kind as possible in the beginning to Lord Temple, which is a point that must come about sooner or later, and I wish it to come from you, and in the beginning. . . .*

"I ought to tell you I have seen Lord Gower and showed him the paragraph of the letter relative to the Duke of Bedford's conversation. And I have the pleasure to tell you, notwithstanding what has passed on all sides since he did not pretend to say those were the expressions made use of. He argued

* Shelburne to Bute, August 14th, 1763.

indeed as to the meaning of others, which were exactly those so often repeated and allowed of, by your Lordship."*

At the same time he wrote to Calcraft as follows:

"I send you in very great confidence the enclosed language of the Duke of Bedford to the King. I therefore beseech you to see Rigby immediately, and to send me such an account of that matter, stating whatever may have passed from you tending to this or from Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, as will justify me, for God knows how very opposite it was to any instructions of mine or to any ideas I always understood of yours as well as mine, to make any mention of Lord Bute's name in the transaction, much less his retiring from the King's presence in any event. You'll not let the enclosed out of your hands, till you return it to me. I suppose Rigby will have no objection to put on paper what he said to the Duke of Bedford on this subject.

[*Enclosure.*]

"Lord Shelburne sent Rigby to him to acquaint him that Lord Bute wished him to form a plan of Government, to take the Treasury himself, and have any associates except ——; that Lord Bute

* Shelburne to Bute, August 1763.

would weaken any administration, and he would therefore retire from London; that upon this he had attempted to bring Mr. Pitt, who had declined, as totally united with the Duke of Newcastle and the Opposition."

Calcraft replied: "In my conversation with Lord Gower and Rigby I obeyed as implicitly as possible, your orders to commit nobody, nor did I. Who I was understood to speak from, they most probably guess, but not a single word of Lord Bute's unpopularity did I mention, or that he would retire from London. Thorough satisfaction of his not interfering was, as you may remember, expressed. Rigby's letter to the Duke of Bedford put the refusal on the union with the Duke of Newcastle to prevent his Grace's* flying out, if His Majesty should choose to employ Mr. Pitt without him, though no report of any such junction was made. I am sorry to find misunderstanding where I thought it impossible, and am sure I have most faithfully reported what literally passed from time to time."†

Meanwhile the negociation with Pitt had met with as little success. If Bedford proscribed Bute, Pitt proscribed Bedford. Bute was under the impression that the Treasury would be left at the Royal

* The Duke of Newcastle.

† Calcraft to Shelburne, August 1763.

disposition, but Pitt had only said that Newcastle should not have it.

"I found," writes Bute to Shelburne,* "my report received with great surprise, and '*Every man is to be dismissed who had a hand in the peace*' often repeated. The Queen was taken ill while I was speaking, so that I am come away quite uncertain of the resolutions to be taken, nor shall I for some days have any opportunity of knowing more. I was asked what grounds I had to believe the Treasury was not to be seized as well as other offices. This was dark in your report† so that I could make little of it."

While the negociations were thus at a stand-still, Egremont suddenly died on the 21st of August. It was now hoped that Pitt would consent to fill the vacant office. Except Grenville, every one wished it.‡

Bute and Pitt accordingly had a meeting on the 25th of August at the house of the latter, and their conversation was mutually so satisfactory that it was followed by an interview between

* Bute to Shelburne, August 16th.

† This report is not extant. It is however clear, that Pitt from the beginning of the negotiation intended Temple to be First Lord of the Treasury. Shelburne to Bute, August 14th, 1763.

‡ Walpole says (Letters, iv. 108), that Shelburne wanted to be Secretary of State himself. If Pitt had filled the vacancy, Shelburne might have succeeded Halifax.

Pitt and the King on the 26th.* The impression left on the mind of Shelburne was that "the negociation thus entered on carried through the whole of it such shocking marks of insincerity that, if it had taken another turn than it did, it must have laid on the shoulders of Pitt a weight of a most irksome nature on account of the peculiar circumstances attending it."†

There is every reason to suppose that Pitt had formed the same opinion. "The King," says Walpole, "had not only been revolted at Mr. Pitt's terms, though without owning it, but Mr. Pitt had the sagacity to discover His Majesty's repugnance, and therefore not only carried on the farce of returning to Court the next day, but was so dexterous as to see the Duke of Newcastle, with whose interests he had by no means clogged his first demands, and assuring his Grace of his zeal for his service, went back to the King with a schedule of terms extremely enlarged. These were peremptorily rejected, and the treaty broke off on pretences which the one had not meant to ask, nor the other cared whether he granted or refused. The Treasury for Lord Temple was the real stone of offence."‡

* Lord Hardwicke to Royston, September 4th, 1763.

† Shelburne to Pitt, August 30th, 1763.

‡ Walpole, "Memoirs," i. p. 289.

It may be argued that the explanation of the failure of this famous negociation thus given by Walpole, is inconsistent with the then state of the relations of Pitt with the great Whig families. It is indeed true that the final rupture between him and Newcastle only took place in 1764,* and that they still corresponded, though in terms which, after discounting the style of overstrained courtesy usual in the correspondence of that time, amount to little more than those of ordinary civility. But a reference to the correspondence of Lord Rockingham† shows Pitt, in the end of 1762, using the following language of the Duke of Newcastle to Thomas Walpole, viz., "that he might not think it quite for His Majesty's Service to have the Duke of Newcastle succeed, though it was necessary Lord Bute should be removed from office," and it may be taken as tolerably certain that if he used such language in the end of 1762, he did not feel himself bound by any very real ties to the Duke and his friends in 1763.

But it has also been said‡—and this is far more important—that the conduct ascribed by Walpole to

* Pitt to Newcastle, October 1764.

† Rockingham papers, i. 151.

‡ Sir Denis Le Marchant, note, vol. i. p. 289, of Walpole's "Memoirs." In the letters, vol. iv. 108-109, Walpole says Shelburne was one of the persons proscribed by Pitt. Of this there is no evidence.

Pitt implies a "dexterity" and "finesse" which formed no part of the character of the Great Commoner. If, however, instead of "dexterity" and "finesse," the words "love of display" and "masquerade" were used—and they would fit the circumstances—well known features of the character of Pitt would be immediately recognised. Nor indeed were dexterity and finesse altogether absent from his composition, as the picture left by Shelburne and already quoted,* abundantly proves. If again, on the strength of a letter from Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, it be argued that Pitt, during the earlier stages of these negociations previous to the death of Egremont, refused to come into office without the Duke of Newcastle and his friends,† and that whatever he felt was necessary in the middle of August he would equally feel to be necessary at the end of that same month, it can be answered—putting aside the fact that the refusal of Pitt on that occasion was, according to another and more trustworthy account, based on his aversion to Bedford—that whatever was then said about the alliance of Pitt and Newcastle by Rigby is shown by the letter from Calcraft to Shelburne of August 26th to have been put forward by the Bedford party for their own crooked ulterior purposes, quite regardless

* See Chapter I.

† Bedford Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 236.

of its accuracy, and without any apparent belief in it on their own part. A letter from Hardwicke,* is usually quoted as the proof that the alliance between Newcastle and Pitt at this period was genuine, but there is no reason to suppose that Pitt had let Hardwicke into his real confidence. Pitt subsequently affirmed that, "if he were examined upon oath, he could not pretend to say upon what this negotiation broke off, whether upon any particular point or upon the general complexion of the whole, but that if the King should assign any particular reason for it, he should not deny it."† On a subsequent occasion, in the House of Commons, he contradicted absolutely everything that had been circulated as to the unreasonableness of his demands in August, 1763.‡ Such were the only explanations Pitt ever condescended to give of his share in these remarkable transactions. They were, to say the least, oracular.

On the final break up of the negotiations between Pitt and the King, Shelburne at once resigned the Presidency of the Board of Trade, assigning as his reason his distaste for the office he then occupied.§ "He quitted the royal closet

* Hardwicke to Royston, September 4th, 1763.

† Hardwicke to Royston, September 4th, 1763.

‡ Gerard Hamilton to Calcraft, February 12th, 1766.

§ Grenville's Diary, September 2nd.

with such marks of goodness and favour," writes Calcraft,* "as he must ever remember, but he thought himself obliged to take this step. Believe me, Sir, I can never forget the confidence you have placed in me, or be insensible to your approbation of my conduct, and it is with the utmost satisfaction I can add Lord Shelburne feels with very great concern what happened to you in the end of the late transaction."

"Lord Shelburne," says the ever amiable Walpole, "has resigned: many reasons are given, but the only one that people choose to take is that thinking Pitt must be Minister soon, and finding himself tolerably obnoxious to him he is seeking to make his peace at any rate."†

The following letters passed on the occasion of his resignation between Shelburne and Bute:

Lord Bute to Lord Shelburne.

September 4th, 1763.

My Dear Lord,—I hear you have resigned. Had my views tended in the least to continue in business, I should have felt severely this step, as I have long flattered myself we should have trod the publick paths of politicks and honor together; but having so absolutely abandoned all thoughts of interfering more in business, having seen every honest wish and endeavour, every action of my life, turned in

* Calcraft to Pitt, September 20th, 1763.

Walpole to Mann, September 13th, 1763.

the most false and *cruel* lights, I take my part without hesitation, so that all I lament in your retiring from the King's Service, is the minute you do it in; but that is over, and I am firmly persuaded you will try by your conduct, to obviate any ill-natured interpretations that the enemies of Government may make of it; as for myself, I hear I am not spared by those who, in Mr. Pitt's proposals, would have suffered.* 'Tis hard indeed to make me responsible for the unreasonable demands of a party. I scorn to deny that I was of opinion that Mr. Pitt's coming into Ministry with a few of the other party would, with the King's friends who had supported his measures, have made a strong and permanent Government, would have put an end to all the violence of party, and given the best of Sovereigns a quiet and easy reign. I thought this feasible from the temper of mind I was informed Mr. Pitt was in at present. Your Lordship knows what good grounds I went on; I thought it feasible without committing the King's honor or sacrificing his friends, as a few arrangements might with the vacant offices have made things easy. I have been mistaken, but for all that I neither repent my opinions given, nor cease to lament it had no better success.

* Bedford and Grenville, the former of whom had now become President of the Council.

The die is now cast and I most ardently pray for the King's getting out of all his difficulties, and indeed, from my knowledge of his disposition and resolution, I make no doubt of his success. I shall in a very short time remove from the bustle and noise of this town, but wherever I am, nothing will make me happier than hearing you continue in those generous sentiments you opened to me when I had last the pleasure of seeing you.

I am, my dear Lord,

Most faithfully yours,

BUTE.

Shelburne to Bute.

September 19th.

MY DEAR LORD,—I find by the newspapers they load me as well as they do your Lordship. It gives me very little uneasiness; "meâ virtute me involvo."

But I should be very sorry your Friends did such severe injustice to the uniform conduct I have to this day preserved towards your Lordship as to join in it, which however I am told some of them do, and that the King and all his Council hear my name mentioned with the least regard. This is the reason given for trying every means to leave me friendless and setting me almost at open defiance. The whole of this is to me inexplicable.

I hate to dwell upon it, and I only mention it to your Lordship, who I am persuaded will do me justice in regard to yourself at least. As to the King, surely there must have been sad misrepresentations, my past conduct, whatever my future may be, not having merited it of a generous Prince, whom I have often heard your Lordship say, felt so much from a different conduct than what my heart tells me, and you must be sensible I have ever observed towards him. I feel for his Person, for his Office, and for the State, and no accident I hope, will prevent my preserving the most temperate conduct with these views; none can certainly give me more concern than your not being thoroughly persuaded of the respect and esteem with which I am, and have been,

My dear Lord,

Most faithfully yours,

SHELBURNE.

Bute to Shelburne.

September 20th.

MY DEAR LORD.—With regard to your Lordship's letter, I never doubted that you would come to taste a little of those compliments I have been receiving more or less these seven years, and though I at present check all conversation that leads to politicks, people have told me that I am abused

from every quarter. I am the more surpris'd from hearing the violence of some who not long ago were tame indeed, but these are topicks I shall not long be troubled with. With regard to the great Personage you mention, I cannot believe the reports made you to be true. I know he was disgusted at the time you chose to resign, but I also know he was pleased with your manner of doing it and with the declaration you made him, and said upon it, that he would suffer no man to hurt you in His opinion, while you continued firm to your own generous resolutions. This was the day after you resign'd, since which I protest on the word of a gentleman I know no more of politicks, of the King, or the Ministers' ideas or measures than I do of the Mogul's Court. I have heard one or two I call my friends, wish you had not resigned when you did. Your Lordship knows I expressed myself freely to you on that subject, but I am ignorant of any other attack. Suffer me once more to repeat what I then said, your resignation at the minute you made it was immediately treated as an abandonment of the King; you foresaw this, and took the part of declaring to Himself and others you meant his support; it was nobly and nicely done. Continue in this way of thinking, and you will draw the tooth of malice and act a part worthy of you; but, my dear Lord, if you suffer little conversations (for the most

part strangely disfigured in the repetition) to make you deviate from your former plan, those who hate you, or who want to detach you, will infallibly come back to their first assertion and give it plausibility, by appealing to your own conduct. Let them not triumph by such little arts. I began with saying, I could not believe the reports you have heard of ——'s conversation, were well founded. I must go farther, they cannot be founded in truth, I have known the —— too long,* have had too many proofs of the most inviolable love to veracity, to credit any man in these Kingdoms contrary to the actual declaration made to myself, no, not though he affirmed he was present and heard it. Adieu, my dear Lord, this letter is too long, but shall be the last on political matters for those I heartily take my leave of; it is certainly meant to do you all the service in my power, and convince you how sincerely I remain, with the greatest regard,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

BUTE.

Thus wrote Bute, and yet before the close of the year circumstances were to arise destined to put an end to the connection which united him to Shelburne. By November, the Court had finally resolved to plunge into that obstinate career of unconstitutional

* The person referred to is the King.

and illegal persecution, which ended by shaking the throne itself, and immortalising a worthless man. Parliament stooped to become the instrument of the Court. The House of Commons was full of converted Jacobites and soldiers, while the House of Lords, undoubtedly the more liberal assembly of the two during the first half of the century, was rapidly losing that character.* In the affair of Wilkes, there was only one safe and honourable course between the fanaticism of the Court and the Parliament on one side and of Temple on the other; that of championing the liberties of which Wilkes was become the representative, and, at the same time, keeping clear of all connection with Wilkes as an individual. This was the course adopted after some hesitations by Pitt, who abruptly separating from Temple, sent for Shelburne with whom on the 18th November, he had an interview of three hours. The result of this interview was soon apparent when on November 24th the resolution that "the privilege of Parliament does not extend to seditious libels" came on for discussion in the House of Commons. It was then observed that the three people supposed to be influenced by Shelburne, viz., Fitzmaurice, Barré, and Calcraft, voted in the minority against the Government, as well as Conway. "The

* See the observations on this subject in Buckle's "History of Civilization," vol. i. ch. 7.

King, greatly pleased with the success of the day, showed great resentment at Mr. Conway's conduct, and was inclined immediately to have dismissed him; but Mr. Grenville advised His Majesty to wait till the recess at Christmas, and then to extend it to Colonel Barré and the others."* When the resolution was discussed on the 29th in the House of Lords, Shelburne spoke with success against it,† making a compliment at the same time to Bute, who was absent, and flattering the Crown,‡ in order to separate himself from Lord Temple, whose protest he did not sign. But George III. was a king to whom all opposition was alike. It was enough that it was opposition. "Stet pro ratione voluntas" was his motto, and absolute submission what he required. Those who were not prepared to grant it were his enemies; his Ministers were to be his servants in fact as well as in name, and Parliament was to become a mere *lit de justice* for ordering the registration of royal decrees. But to make matters worse, Lord Shelburne was one of the "three honest and proper men," whom the King had hoped to make the instruments of his arbitrary notions,§ and here he was, on the very question

* Grenville Correspondence, vol. i. 209.

† Walpole to Mann, September 13th, 1763.

‡ Grenville Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 230.

§ See *supra*, p. 187.

which was regarded as a test of devotion, flying in the King's face, and encouraging others to do the same. Therefore when, on the 5th December, Mr. Grenville* "reminded His Majesty that Lord Shelburne was still in his service as his *aidè de camp*, and asked if he thought it right to continue him, the King paused a moment, and said, No, I will remove him; he has acted like a worthless man, and has broke his word with me."† It would have probably puzzled George III. to state what pledges had been given him by Shelburne to support the Court in the case of Wilkes, to whose arbitrary arrest he had been all through opposed. Lord Holland, who was not in a position to speak with authority, had recently told the King that Shelburne would continue to support the Government so long as he thought it possible for the Ministers to direct the affairs of the country;‡ when resigning, a similar assurance had been given by Shelburne himself.§ Nothing beyond this had passed, but what were such small considerations to the head of the House of Hanover, with whom nothing weighed except his own prejudices and arbitrary notions.

Barré and Shelburne were both dismissed on Wednesday the 8th.

* Grenville Correspondence, vol. ii. 236.

† Ibid. 220. ‡ Ibid. 203.

§ See *supra*, p. 297.

"My dear Lord," writes Barré the following day, "I received last night, a total dismission from the King's service. A compliment of the same kind, was sent to your Lordship, which I forward to you by the express.

"Campbell is to succeed me in Stirling Castle, though he assured me yesterday that he would not ask for it; this was a game settled at Luton,* and throws great obscurity upon the intentions in that quarter. Ned Harvey is to be offered the Adjutant-Generalship; Calcraft and I think he will take it, but was there ever so noble an opportunity for him to shew himself a man?

"I think you should be in town, and even in the closet to-morrow. I shall go to Court.

"I am clear, my dear Lord, you should be at Court to-morrow if possible. In the way, for many reasons at this critical juncture, to try to counteract the present proceedings, you certainly should be. I have had a long discourse with Ned Harvey, who knows nothing except from me, (and my intelligence is sure) about his Adjutant-Generalship; I wish I could say he was determined, for he has the greatest opportunity to show both his friendship, his sense, and his integrity.

"I find some expressions in your speech are said to have brought on these attacks on your friends.

* The residence of Bute.

"Mr. Pitt seems more and more puzzled, but very clear, that if things go much further, the Court will get beyond redemption.

"Adieu, I hope we shall see you to-morrow and am, "Most truly yours,

"I. B."

Lord Shelburne replied, from Bowood:

"Your conduct is likely to be as firm and manly in civil as it has been in military life, and will I hope do you equal honour. I do assure you I look upon it far above any compliment from me, for to me it has been kind beyond expression, and such as I am bound never to forget. I am sorry however to congratulate you on the honour you must acquire with every honest man at the expense of what I am hurt to name, and still more to think of the King and the publick. For depend upon it, this factious proceeding adopted by the Court, must be productive of dreadful evil to this country, already tottering by faction which seems stepping into the place of justice, and has already you see almost turned the judge off the bench.*

"Introducing it at this moment into another profession† in a manner so unprecedented as this,

* The allusion is to the outcry raised by the courtiers against the decision of Chief Justice Pratt on the point of privilege raised by the arrest of Wilkes.

† The army.

appears a most extraordinary measure and betrays the most abandoned principle.

"Though it's late at night, I would not scruple travelling, if I did not think it better for me to delay going to Court till Monday, especially if there is any question about going into the closet, till I can see and hear more of this measure, which I suppose cannot be meant to end with you and me, though I shall think nothing extraordinary, for the whole of this implies a communication certainly between Luton and administration; I am very curious to know the terms. I shall be at Whitton certainly on Sunday at five, where I shall be very glad to meet you and Calcraft, and bring all the information you can from every quarter. I shall have a thousand questions to ask you. Calcraft knew Ned Harvey better than I do, but if it is so, what is one to think of that creature called man? But you know how much account I make of temper in all human affairs, so I must take care not to transgress myself."

When Shelburne presented himself at Court, the King in his own words to Mr. Grenville, "took no notice of him but spoke to the two people on each side of him, which he thought was the treatment he deserved, for having broke his word and honour with him, having pledged both upon his not going into opposition, and then taking the first op-

portunity to oppose a measure which personally regarded the King."* At the same time all further communication with him on the part of Bute ceased, and Mr. Grenville going to Court upon the Princess of Wales's birthday, "heard her exclaim against Lord Shelburne's conduct, and say that the night before Lady Jane Stuart had asked her if she had heard of the part Lord Shelburne had taken in the House of Lords, wondering what he could mean by it, and saying she knew of no friend he had, and seemed to disclaim all intercourse between him and her father which all Lord Bute's friends in general do."†

To Shelburne the deprivation of his military appointments was not a serious loss, being abundantly compensated by the fairly earned popularity which this mark of the royal displeasure conferred upon its victim. It was not so in the case of Barré. He was Adjutant-General of the Forces, and Governor of Stirling Castle. The income he himself stated publicly in subsequent years arising from these

* Grenville Correspondence, ii. 236.

† Grenville Correspondence, vol. ii. 243. Under date October 14th, Grenville accuses Shelburne of having falsely stated to some one a few days before that Bute and he were still corresponding. The last extant letter of Bute to Shelburne is dated September 20th and is quite cordial in tone, so that, assuming Shelburne to have answered the letter, the statement was substantially correct. Grenville does not give the name of his informant.

appointments was about £4000 a year, the loss of which, to a man who four years before had described himself as a friendless subaltern of eleven years standing, was no inconsiderable matter. But though deprived of office and placed on the retired list, Barré was nothing daunted, and with the full approval of Shelburne, continued to oppose the Grenville administration in their persecution of Wilkes. During the debate on the 14th of February, 1764, on the legality of general warrants, Grenville was bold enough to deny the charge of having used "menaces to officers," whereupon, says Walpole, "Colonel Barré rose, and this was attended with a striking circumstance. Sir Edward Dering, one of our noisy fools, cried out, *Mr.* Barré. The latter seized the thought with admirable quickness, and said to the Speaker who in pointing to him had called him *Colonel*, "I beg your pardon, sir, you have pointed to me by a title I have no right to," and then made a very artful and pathetic speech on his own services and dismission; with nothing bad but an awkward attempt towards an excuse to Mr. Pitt for his former behaviour."* Whether the excuse was awkward or not, the reconciliation it announced was genuine, and the political attachment of Barré to Pitt was only ended by the death of the latter.

* Letter to the Earl of Hertford, February 15th, 1764.

CHAPTER VI.

LORD SHELBURNE AND THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

1763–1765.

For a year and more after the events just related Shelburne seems to have availed himself in earnest of the opportunity for cultivating that retirement on the charms of which he had formerly insisted when writing to Fox. While his enemies at Court were blackening his character, he was buying MSS., entertaining his friends, making a lake at Bowood,*

* Bowood anciently constituted part of the royal forest of Pewisham, which extended from Chippenham to Devizes, and from Lacock to Calne, and was bounded on the north and west by the River Avon. It was disafforested at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and granted in life estates and reversions to the courtiers of James I. and Charles I. These were forfeited under the Commonwealth. According to John Britton, the Wiltshire antiquary, the forest was then again thrown open, and the Parliamentary Commissioners, wishing to convey the deer of the former owners over Lockswell Heath to Spye Park, with what view is not quite clear, were embarrassed as to the means of effecting their

and restoring order on his estate at Wycombe, which, on his succession, he says he "had found tenanted by beggars and bankrupts, universally out of repair, great part uninclosed, and the bounds of the rest in the worst possible order. No tenants could be got to take it without a great deal being done, and without long leases. However, a great deal was done, the whole was put into perfect repair, a great deal too much expended in some instances in farmhouses, the whole inclosed, pathways and roads turned, the bounds made good, and tenants were found to take it without any lease; but they took every advantage of the bad repute in which the estate was held, as well as of my ignorance and inexperience at the time, and my total want of assistance, to indemnify them-

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object, till the clothiers of the neighbourhood constructed a skirted road of broadcloth between those places, and so accomplished their removal. At the Restoration the forest again came into the hands of the Crown, fresh grants were made, and Bowood was leased for ninety-nine years to Sir Orlando Bridgman, whose son, in 1726, obtained the fee. On his death it was sold to John, Earl of Shelburne. The present house was then built, but it has since been largely added to. The grounds were laid out by the Earl of Shelburne, the subject of this book, under the advice of "Capability" Brown, and Mr. Hamilton, of Pains' Hill. (See for further details "Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian Sketches of Wiltshire," by John Britton, and Canon Jackson's notes at p. 34 of his edition of Aubrey's Wiltshire.) Wycombe had been part of the Petty estates inherited by John Fitzmaurice. (See note, chapter i., p. 1.)

selves, for any risk they might run, in settling the rent." *

"Since my return from Calcraft's," he writes to Barré, "I have been in Wiltshire and avoided politicks."† "I am glad to find you still like retirement," writes Weymouth, "though I dare say you have a great deal of amusement in yourself. I am sure that your mind is too active to let the great events of the world pass without taking some part in them." ‡ "Have you done with those silly manuscripts," writes Sandwich,§ at the same time offering him "a wild beast" for the menagerie then at Wycombe, but in after years removed to Bowood, where the skull of a lion—the sole relic of his peers—now wonders from the top of a cupboard at the strange company it has to keep among bookshelves and parchments. But the bookshelves and parchments are not those from which Jemmy Twitcher attempted to win Lord Shelburne with the offer of a wild beast. These are now at the British Museum. Acquired and added to at various periods the collection consisted in the main of the purchases of Mr. James West and Mr. Philip Carteret Webbe ‖—of Wilkes

* Account of his estates by Shelburne. A fragment evidently written late in life.

† Shelburne to Barré, September 1763.

‡ September 27th, 1763.

§ September 25th, 1763.

‖ Mr. West did not die till 1773, nor Mr. Carteret Webbe till

and judicial fame—from whom they were bought by Shelburne. It comprised many of the State papers of both the Cecils, from whom they had passed to Sir Michael Hickes, their Secretary, and from him to Strype, and so to West. There too, were to be found the collections of Bishop Kennet, and those of Le Neve and others learned in heraldic lore; with the papers of Sir Julius Cæsar, the Master of the Rolls of the first James and the first Charles; of Petyt on Parliaments; with selections from the Patent Rolls; and a mass of other documents in which the past history of England might be read from the time of Henry VI. to the time of the Star Chamber, and from the time of the Star Chamber to the reign of George III. When Shelburne—then Lord Lansdowne—died, those who reigned in his stead had the same opinion of the value of MSS. as Sandwich, and the story is still told how only the zeal of an auctioneer saved the papers of Sir Julius Cæsar from falling into the hands of an enterprising cheesemonger,* who had made a private bargain for them at the price of £10.

1770, but an account of the whole collection is given above at the time Lord Shelburne began to collect in order to avoid repetition. For further details the reader is referred to the Preface of the "Catalogus Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Lansdownianæ," by Sir H. Ellis, at the British Museum.

* See for further details Edwards' "Memoirs of Libraries," vol. i. 468, 524.

The whole collection was then brought to the hammer and purchased by the British Museum with the first sum of money ever voted by Parliament in aid of its Library.

Occasionally Shelburne visited London with Barré, become in every sense of the term his *aide de camp*, and the centre of the group of "the little knot of young orators" * which was wont to gather in Hill Street, or in small clubs, mixed with literary men older in years and varied in political opinions. It was through Bute that Shelburne had, in all probability, come to know Johnson.† Through Johnson he came to know Goldsmith and Reynolds, to the last of whom he sat in March, 1764, and again in 1766.

With them were Lawrence Sullivan, great at the India House, Serjeant Glyn and Alderman Townshend, Dunning and Pratt, Francis the translator of Horace, Calcraft and Nugent, George Dempster the future patron of Burns, and Captain Howe, who writing from India, had announced his intention of coming back, "and improving in husbandry under so experienced a farmer as Lord Shelburne must undoubtedly have become, if he cultivated the favourable disposition he so strongly shewed for retirement from the noise of the

* Walpole, "Memoirs," i. p. 110.

† Boswell, iv. 120.

world."* Blackstone too, was a frequent visitor, and was introduced to the King by Shelburne. At Oxford he had known Mr. Fitzmaurice, the brother of Shelburne, afterwards the intimate friend of Johnson,† and had thus described him: "His points are lively, his apprehension quick and mixed with a solidity of judgment rarely to be found in so young a man. Free, affable, and unembarrassed in conversation, even among strangers, fondest of such subjects as may improve his understanding, yet pleasant and humorous upon common topics. I acknowledge a roughness in his mien and manner, contracted perhaps in Scotland, but that will quickly wear off in the company of his equals, first at Oxford, and afterwards in London. He proposes to sacrifice to the Graces under the tuition of Dr. King, by renewing his acquaintance with the classics, seems at present highly pleased with his situation, and I dare say will make a better use of it, than many of those who are styled polite scholars, but have been polishing all their lives, without laying in any substantial stamina of Science, to support and throw out that lustre which can never result from materials of a flimsy texture."‡ Alluding to his wish to become the Head of a College, Black-

* Howe to Shelburne, November 1st, 1762.

† Boswell, iv. 120, 307, 308.

‡ Blackstone to Shelburne, October 19th, 1761.

stone thus expressed himself on a subject which was only just beginning to force itself on the attention of the public men of the country:

"I should then also find leisure and opportunity to open another plan, which I have long meditated, and which my present situation in the University (as Principal of a Hall), would give me opportunity to put in practice; I mean some improvements in the methods of academical education, by retaining the useful parts of it stripped of monastic pedantry, by supplying its defects, and adopting it more peculiarly to gentlemen of rank and fortune; whereas the basis of the present forms is principally calculated for the priesthood, while the instruction of laymen, (whatever be their quality or profession), is only a collateral object. The Universities were founded when the little learning of the times was monopolized by the Clergy. They politicly meant it should continue so, and ordered their Institutions accordingly." *

Hume too had been a visitor in Hill Street, and on leaving London had placed on record his pleasant recollections of its society in the following letter:

December 12th, 1761.

My Lord,—An accident, a little unexpected, has hastened my journey to Scotland a little sooner than

* December 27th, 1761.

I intended. I was offered a chaise that sets out to-morrow morning, where I could sit alone and loiter and read and muse for the length of four hundred miles. Your Lordship may judge, by this specimen of my character, how unfit I am to mingle in such an active and sprightly society as that of which your Lordship invited me to partake, and that in reality a book and a fireside, are the only scenes for which I am now qualified. But I should be unfit to live among human creatures could I ever forget the obligations which I owe to your Lordship's goodness, or could ever lose the firm resolution of expressing my sense of them on all occasions. I beg your Lordship to believe that, though age and philosophy have mortified all ambition in me, yet there are other sentiments which I find more inherent to me, which I shall always cherish, and which no time can efface. And when I shall see your Lordship making a figure in the active scenes of life, I shall always consider your progress with a peculiar pleasure, though perhaps accompanied with the regret that I partake of it at so great a distance. I remember to have seen a picture in your Lordship's house of a Hottentot who fled from a cultivated life to his companions in the woods and left behind him all his fine accoutrements and attire. I compare not my case to his; for I return to very sociable, civilized

people.* I only mean to express the force of habit which renders a man accustomed to retreat and study unfit for the commerce of the great world, and makes it a necessary piece of wisdom for him to shun it after age has rendered that habit entirely inveterate. This is the only excuse I can give to your Lordship for being so much wanting to my own interest as to leave London when you had contrived to make it so agreeable a habitation to me.

I did not hear of this vehicle till to-day, and to tell the truth, I rather chose to express my sentiments to your Lordship in writing, than to wait upon you in person, because however imperfectly I may have executed my purpose of discovering my sense of the obligations I owe your Lordship, I still could do it better by writing than by speech.

I am, with the greatest sincerity, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and most humble Servant,

DAVID HUME.

But Shelburne, though temporarily deprived of Hume as a guest, received at this time another and as illustrious a visitor in Benjamin Franklin. Long after, when the country of the one seemed sinking

* Hume was then on his way to Scotland. In 1763 Lord Hertford, Ambassador to the Court of France, appointed him to be his secretary.

under the blows of repeated misfortune, and that of the other was with difficulty struggling into existence, these two men were called to end the fratricidal strife and to separate the contending nations, if it were possible, as friends. They then looked back to the time when, in days of comparative calm, nineteen years before they had "talked upon the means of promoting the happiness of mankind," a subject far more agreeable to their natures than the best concerted plans for spreading misery and ruin.*

Of this society Walpole was not only not a member, but he hated its leader with a hatred as deep and bitter as any of which his flimsy nature could be capable. Never, either in his Memoirs or in his Diary or in his letters, does he fail to paint the conduct of Shelburne in the darkest colours, or fail to attribute the worst motives to his most harmless actions. Like the Scotchman who for the greater part of his life believed himself and his brother to be the sole members of the visible Church, but towards his later days began to have sore doubts as to his brother, so Walpole long believed himself and General Conway to be alone possessed of moral virtue and intellectual excellence, but at last began to have some questionings as to General Conway. While however the rest of the human

* Shelburne to Franklin, April 6th, 1782.

race were indeed wicked and foolish, to Shelburne there had, in his opinion, been allotted a peculiar and especial degree of wickedness, balanced only by the folly which happily was destined to be his destruction. What was the origin of this extraordinary aversion is not clear. With the father of Shelburne Walpole seems to have been acquainted, and not to have been personally averse to him, though having a mean opinion of his talents as an art collector.* With the mother of Lord Shelburne, who for many years of her life lived at Richmond House, Twickenham, he was on terms of neighbourly intimacy, though unable to help sneering at the society he met at her table,† which was naturally uncongenial to the habits of a man who would have preferred Sir Charles Williams to Goldsmith, and could have seen nothing in Johnson except his rudeness. Whatever may have been the reason, whether it was a belief in the "pious fraud," or an idea that Shelburne had been the instigator of the economies at the expense of sinecure patent places projected in 1763, the mere idea of which drove Walpole almost beside himself, certain it is that he cordially hated Shelburne, and omitted no opportunity of showing it.

* Walpole to Mann, April 16th, 1756.

† Walpole to Montagu, May 25th, 1766; Walpole to Lady Ossory, October 7th, 1773.

Thus between improvements in the country and society in London was passed the greater part of 1764, only disturbed by the distant rumours of the schemes, actual and potential, of George Grenville for taxing America, and by the election of the Directors of the East India Company, in which Shelburne supported the list of Lawrence Sullivan, in order, it was supposed, to get Barré sent out to Bengal as Governor-General,* but in reality from a strong distrust of Lord Clive.† Still, even when supporting candidates on whose election he considered the future honest management of the Company to depend, he felt an aversion to such interference. In subsequent years, he said, alluding to this question: "I interfered a good deal at one time in the affairs of the Company, but upon its taking a very corrupt turn I scrupulously shut my door against them. It was always my maxim to avoid all personal canvassing. I have always felt it a *petite guerre*, a poor means of securing friendship or animosity. Besides, what a slavery does it make of political friendship!" ‡

Early in the following year Walpole writes to Mann, "There is an approaching wedding notified

* Walpole, "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 397. Letters, March 11th, 18th; April 12th, 20th, to the Earl of Hertford, vol. iv. 224.

† Shelburne to Howe, April 1764.

‡ Lord Shelburne to Lady Ossory, 20th October, 1780.

between Lord Shelburne and Lady Sophia Carteret, the only child of our old friend Lady Sophia Fermor by Lord Granville. Her face is like the beauty of neither, and is like her half-sisters,* but her air and person would strike you from the strong resemblance to her mother." † An illustrious modern author‡ has supposed Shelburne, in consequence of this marriage, to have been much influenced by the political opinions of his deceased father-in-law. Be that as it may, they both undoubtedly shared that dislike of the old Whigs for which Granville had suffered at more than one period of his chequered career.

By a curious coincidence the Stamp Act was passing through Parliament at the time that the statesman, whose whole career was to be so influenced by it, was being married. But though Shelburne himself was absent from the House of Lords, his opinions were represented in the Commons by Barré, who putting aside the question (as at the moment of subordinate importance) of the right of Parliament to tax America, denied the advisability of exercising it, and showing the speciousness of the plea of virtual representation which had been advanced to support it, made a speech which chancing to be reported by Jared

* The Countess of Cowper and the Marchioness of Tweeddale.

† 13th January, 1765.

‡ Mr. Disraeli.

Ingersoll of Connecticut, rendered the phrase "Sons of Liberty," a household word in every home on the other side of the Atlantic:

"They planted by your care," he fiercely retorted on Charles Townshend, who had applied those words to the origin of the colonists. "No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated, inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle and I will take upon me to say the most formidable of any people upon the face of God's earth, and actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those who should be their friends. They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of deputies to some member of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men whose behaviour on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom to my knowledge

were glad by going to a foreign country to escape being brought to a bar of a court of justice in their own. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour amidst their constant and laborious industry for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And, believe me, remember I this day told you so, the same spirit of freedom, which actuated that people at first will accompany them still. But prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat, what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this House may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people I believe are as truly loyal as any subjects the King has, but they are a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if ever they should be violated: but the subject is too delicate; I will say no more."

Nor did Barré stand alone. Jackson the "omniscient," the friend of Johnson,* a man famed for

* Boswell, iii. 383, who says "Johnson very properly altered the epithet 'omniscient' into 'all knowing,' as omniscient is *verbum solenne* appropriated to the Supreme Being."

the almost unrivalled extent of his information, now the Private Secretary of Grenville, whose measure he opposed, afterwards the trusted friend of Shelburne whose colleague he became,* raised his voice against the tax. "The Parliament," he said, "may choose whether they will tax America or not; they have a right to tax Ireland, yet do not exercise that right. Still stronger objections may be urged against their taxing America. Other ways of raising the moneys there requisite for the public service exist, and have not yet failed; but the colonies in general have, with alacrity, contributed to the common cause. It is hard all should suffer for the fault of two or three. Parliament is undoubtedly the universal unlimited legislature of the British dominions, but it should voluntarily set bounds to the exercise of its power, and if the majority of Parliament think they ought not to set these bounds, then they should give a share of the election of the legislature to the American colonies, otherwise the liberties of America I do not say will be lost but will be in danger, and they cannot be injured without danger to the liberties of Great Britain." †

"Dear Barré," writes Shelburne to him, on hearing of the debate, "I am happy to hear of your success the American day. It must give your

* In 1782.

† Bancroft, iv. 169.

friends in America the greatest pleasure. How wonderful the division!"* The numbers handed in by the tellers had been 249 and 49.

Shelburne was now in frequent communication with Pitt through Calcraft. "I was able," writes the latter,† "to pay my intended visit to Hayes yesterday, where I was received in the most kind manner, and spent three hours in more intimate and confidential conversation than ever. . . . I will convey a short sense of your situation in Mr. Pitt's opinion by his last words to me: 'Assure Lord Shelburne he may depend on hearing from me the instant an opening comes from any quarter; that I will ever avow his conduct from our first beginning. Let him stick to measures. Connections as to men are mean, but on measures commendable. I make no professions, but Lord Shelburne will infer.' He also strongly commended Barré's conduct, to which I did all the justice in my power. We laughed about the fifteen expresses reported to be sent him from Administration, and he remains not a jot nearer Lord Bute, the Duke of Bedford, or Mr. Grenville, though he thinks Lord Bute means some change and foresees confusion. He is against any Regency Bill, on which subject I will enlarge to your Lordship on meeting. He is also strong against the

* February 1765.

† Calcraft to Shelburne, April 15th, 1765.

American Mutiny Bill,* as an oppression they ought not to be subjected to, and in a great measure unnecessary. He thinks the King sending for the Duke had some serious meaning, but has not heard what. I was glad to hear him speak most highly and affectionately of Lord Temple again.† Lady Chatham had dined with him yesterday. He begged me to make many apologies for not having been to visit you, which he will do here if he can, but has been confined ever since your Lordship saw him, and is not able to stand yet. The two friends Mr. Pitt talks of as those he will advise with in all situations and depend on, are Lord Chief Justice Pratt and Lord Shelburne. This pleased me as did his sentiments about Barré. Many, many other things were discussed, which I will report at large on Friday."

At the end of the month the Regency Bill coming on in the House of Lords, Shelburne joined Temple in denouncing the whole Bill as unnecessary and unwise. After urging that the object of the Bill was the public peace and security of the Crown; that the King was liable, like other per-

* The Mutiny Act was this year extended to America. Its clauses compelled the colonies at their own expense to furnish the troops.

† There had recently been some coolness between Pitt and Temple owing to the conduct of the latter on the American question and his violence on behalf of Wilkes.

sons, to make mistakes, more especially in cases where his own essential interest and that of his family were concerned; that it was therefore consistent with the dignity of Parliament and of the Crown for the former to interfere, and not merely to register the wishes of the latter, he continued: "In case of a demise, the Parliament then in being may be immediately assembled, and by a clause in the last Bill of Regency now, as I think, in force, they are to sit three years, unless sooner dissolved. The most proper means of administering Government during a minority would then be in the hands of those who are alone interested in the success of those means, who can be the only judges of circumstances, situations, and characters, and who alone have a right to judge of the true interests of the State. The present Parliament seems to have no right to make laws which shall be binding upon future Parliaments, especially in points in which the future are alone interested, unless their wisdom and their power was so great that they could discern unbegotten events, or stop the fleeting currents of human affairs. If they want this power, how can it be supposed that future times will relinquish their own peculiar rights, and suffer themselves implicitly to obey the direction of those who had no right to restrain them, nor opportunities to judge of their situation or circumstances. . . . Yet what provi-

sion is made by this Bill for a future Regency? What judgment, what foresight is the Parliament to exert! Excepting the persons of the Royal Family, the whole is to be left to the future determination of the King, whose will is to extend beyond his life, and to be implicitly obeyed by the Public. Even the Regent is at present unknown, and consequently unapproved of. The ten great officers of State will be such as shall be in office at the demise. The present Ministers before that period may be removed, and those ten may possibly be the most obnoxious in the kingdom, and though perhaps the proper instruments of a wise and ruling monarch may yet be in their own persons contemptible both in respect to their morals and understanding. The administration of government requires subserviency of man to man and not a rivalship or emulation of abilities, and therefore it is seldom that above one genius is included in the group and even that one perhaps may be seated upon the Throne; and if that be the case the nation, during a minority, may be governed by the most incapable men in it, to the exclusion of those of the first rank, fortune, merit, talents, and abilities.

"To these are to be added four more, and consequently neither of the Royal Family nor possessing any of the great offices of State, men perhaps who will be as much hated then as they

are at present unknown.* To reply to these things the great wisdom of the King will be possibly urged as an unanswerable argument. It is however unparliamentary to do so; it is the language of slaves and not of freemen. The wisdom of the King may be a private inducement, but it ought never to be a public argument; when the good of the State is in question all men are to be supposed fallible. Principles and systems of policy as wrong or right, are alone to be considered, and the casual abilities of men should be left out of the question. Yet even this consideration will lose its force when it is remembered that the appointment of a Regent and Council will probably be the last act of His Majesty's life, when sickness and infirmity may disturb his understanding and management, and intrigue may prevail. But it were well if a bad administration for a short period were the only evil which could result from such a law. What is most to be apprehended is lest disdain, resentment, and violence should hereafter prevail, and the legal authority of such a Regency be set at open defiance."†

He then went on to show that an incompetent Regent and incompetent Ministers would be tempted to stoop to the lowest corruption in order to over-

* Evidently aiming at Bute.

† Notes of this speech. Lansdowne House MSS.

come their unpopularity, while on the other hand the Parliament sitting at the King's demise, could choose the most competent Regent, in his opinion the Queen, and she and the Ministers would have an interest in preserving the high character to which they had owed their elevation. Thus the risk of corruption and of bad government which might lead to rebellion and anarchy would be avoided.

These arguments, however, proved ineffectual, and only six peers followed Temple and Shelburne into the lobby. Temple retired to Stowe and Shelburne to Bowood.

The conduct of the Ministers on the question of the Regency had greatly weakened their position. They had first alienated the Duke of Cumberland by seeking to exclude his name from the Bill, and they had then tried to exclude the Princess Dowager through fear of Bute. Succeeding in this though only for a moment, they alienated the King, who sent Cumberland to negociate with Pitt,* but Temple refused to co-operate in the formation of a Ministry, and the negociation came to an end. Shelburne had been offered office. "Pitt," Calcraft wrote to

* The visit of Cumberland to Pitt at Hayes was on May 12th. The approaching reconciliation of Temple and Grenville was the cause of the inability of Temple and Pitt to co-operate on this occasion.

him, "thinks nothing can be more guarded or proper than your reply, and is still more convinced by the statement made to your friend * of a late transaction how slippery and dangerous all ground at Court is, so wishes you to keep on greater guard, which he seems sure will answer with the public. Even this communication he doubts may be misconstrued or revive Lord Bute's idea that everybody may be had. His Lordship, it seems, is totally Lord Holland's, and in both these quarters Mr. Pitt and Lord Shelburne are equal favourites. Your visit in Audley Street† is thought most sensible, and we shall like to hear the consequence of this transaction. He applauds to the last degree your leaving town. He is hurrying away Lord Temple, and goes himself the moment the doctors will allow it. I suspected at first some little jealousy about Court communications, but explaining your intentions towards him as publick and private men, *that* not only vanished but he wished it kept sensibly open. Mr. Pitt went into the strongest expressions about your conduct, which he concluded by saying repeatedly, "*Lord Temple and he agreed you and your friends only had acted a thorough part.*" I think he has stronger light since Monday from George Grenville's quarter though they have not met; in some shape or other there seems

* It does not appear who this was, perhaps Dempster.

† The residence of Lord Bute.

security. He went into arrangements, is most determined to keep Lord Bute at bay though not altered in sentiments of gentlemanlike conduct towards him or anything reasonable for the great person's friends. The commendation of the Duke nettles and creates doubts of underhand manœuvres between His Royal Highness and Lord Holland, but the Court is altogether inexplicable. He wishes mystery on our part also, and recommends strongly no post correspondence. His confidence to us being thought, as it really is, unbounded, of this there was no danger I assured him, as he imagined. George Grenville dines at Hayes on Thursday."*

But Pitt was unable to come to any agreement with Grenville notwithstanding the "security" of which Calcraft spoke, and this divergence of views had important results, for by the end of June another ministerial crisis had become inevitable. The King personally disliked his present advisers too much to allow their support of his arbitrary measures to atone for their plain spoken independence on the subject of Bute, nor had Grenville cared to conceal from the King that what he specially wished was not so much like Halifax to increase the power of the Crown as to uphold the authority of Parliament in American affairs. Thus it was that in July both Grenville and Bedford and their colleagues retired, and Pitt

* Calcraft to Shelburne, May 1763.

was once more sent for to form a Ministry. He demanded and the King consented to a legislative condemnation of general warrants, the repeal of the cider tax, a change of the American stamp tax and an alliance with Prussia, but owing to the perversity of Temple who was now reconciled to his brother the author of the Stamp Act, and acting under his influence the negociation again failed.*

"I came to town," writes Shelburne to Barré, "yesterday† on a political call. Mr. Pitt thought he had agreed so far with the King the Saturday before that there could be no further difference in essentials, and sent for Lord Temple with a view to proceed immediately to particular arrangements. However, Lord Temple found himself under a necessity, on coming to town on the Monday, to decline the Treasury for *certain delicate and tender reasons*, which hitherto have remained unexplained as to particulars or the public. Mr. Pitt abides by his opinion that the ground was sufficient to proceed upon if Lord Temple had acceded, but without him at his right hand it was impossible for him to resist the difficulties that threatened from different quarters, and is hitherto positive in this opinion. The King however being determined to dismiss those at present about him, it is generally supposed will

* Diary of George Grenville, June 26th, 1765.

† July 2nd, 1765.

take the advice of his Uncle, and an administration is expected to be formed in consequence by Friday.

"As long as I imagined this was likely to come to anything, I was sorry you had gone so soon, but as things stand I think you will be of another sentiment. In all events you may depend on hearing further, when the measure appears fixed.

"I should go out of town immediately, but I have some Wiltshire business, which will detain me till Saturday. I wish you entertainment where you are; no place can be duller than London.

Thus the King again found himself without advisers, till at length in desperation he sent Cumberland to negociate with the rump of the old Whig party, and the Rockingham-Newcastle administration emerged out of the chaos. Pitt refused the overtures which the new Whig leader at once made to him. Shelburne followed his example, declining the post which Rockingham offered him:

The Marquis of Rockingham to the Earl of Shelburne.

July 11th, 1765.

MY LORD,—I did myself the honour to wait upon your Lordship on last, but had not the good fortune to find you at home; and I should have desired the honour of a conversation

with you, if I had had any expectation of succeeding with you in what I was empowered to propose.

I must, nevertheless, in order not to appear wanting in respect to your Lordship, desire to know from your Lordship, whether it would be agreeable to you to return to preside at the Board of Trade.

The conversation I have had with Mr. Dempster has given me the utmost satisfaction, as it permits me to flatter myself that your Lordship is not disinclined to give your countenance and assistance in support of His Majesty's present servants, as well as that your Lordship is far from objecting to any applications being made to Colonel Barré.*

His reply was in these terms:

July 11th, 1765.

My Lord,—It is impossible for me, except I could convey to your Lordship at the same time how desirous I have ever been, by unalterable duty and respect, to preserve His Majesty's good opinion, to express to you the satisfaction and happiness it would give me to serve him in any situation, much more in the considerable one your Lordship does me the honour to point out to me. I am therefore

* Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham, i. 234. The letter being printed from a draft has no signature; the original is not at Lansdowne House.

extremely concerned that, besides the total ignorance I am under in regard to the measures you propose to pursue, a real consciousness of my own inability in so active an office, to which the domestic habits I have lately fallen into add not a little, makes it absolutely incumbent on me to decline the honour done me, through a conviction that more evil might come to His Majesty's affairs than the little aid I could ever hope to give could compensate.

As to my future conduct your Lordship will pardon me if I say "measures and not men" will be the rule of it, especially as I can add that, besides the sincere affection I shall ever bear His Majesty's person, my opinion of the present state of this country, in many respects is such as will make it matter of very serious concern to me, not to concur in whatever shall be proposed by His Majesty's Ministers.

This, as I recollect, contains the substance of my conversation to Mr. Dempster, when he did me the favour to call on me some time ago, and in the course of his visit took occasion to speak to me of myself.

I am sorry it is impossible for me to give your Lordship any light in regard to Colonel Barré. Too many public events have happened since he has been at a distance, that I cannot even conjecture what his sentiments may be in the present situation.

Your Lordship may be assured, if he approves the public plan of government proposed, I shall hear with the greatest pleasure of his obeying the King's commands, and yielding to your Lordship's wishes.

I have the honour to be, with great consideration and regard,

My Lord

Your most obedient and humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

To Barré, whom Conway had meanwhile invited to join the Administration, Shelburne explained his sentiments on the political situation more fully as follows: *

"Our friend Dempster has been with me to desire my opinion whether he should engage with the Duke's Administration, with Lord Rockingham at the head of the Treasury. He had been applied to by Fitzherbert, but declined going to Lord Rockingham till he had seen me, upon which it was given him to understand that he would do a very agreeable service by finding out my opinion in this crisis, both as to myself and as to you. I returned his attention by advising him, as he seemed to approve the line of measures, by all means to assist the King if it suited his private arrangements. As

* July 7th, 1765.

to myself, I told him the less that was said of me the better; that I had lately entered into engagements of a domestic nature, which I did not choose to break through; but that, besides the affection I originally had for the King, I could not help feeling for him on this occasion, and commending a great part of his conduct, and would undoubtedly, when winter came, whoever was his Minister, if he proposed right measures, support them; as to you, that you must answer for yourself, when you came over; that I could not take upon me to conjecture even what your sentiments might be; that I influenced no man, not even my brother. There have been communications from other quarters, which I cannot trust to paper, but they ended in nothing particular, and in general have been upon the same line as this I mention, accompanied with the most moderate language towards particulars of all sides, and as much respect and affection to the King as I could convey through a third person. I wish I could give you further light out of this chaos which at present reigns throughout, in which the only wise part appears to me is to stand still yet awhile. When you come over, you may be able to see clearer, but as I know by experience, it is pleasant at a distance to be advised freely, I would advise you by all means to prosecute your tour, and not return till the candles shew more light, unless sent for, and

that *in a very direct manner*. I mean this to guard against general letters which Dempster or any one else may be desired to write you. You may depend upon hearing from me by a particular messenger, if I see anything likely to ripen in which I can take part, and if it continues as it has been, that I shall leave the ground as broad and open for you on every account as possible. It is hazardous writing, but I thought it fit at all hazards to convey to you my sentiments in general as to the crisis. I have desired Calcraft to forward it by express to Dover, and if possible to send it from Calais by a particular Messenger to Paris. He will write to you the common reports, though I don't believe in anything for certain, except that Lord Rockingham is set down to be at the head of the Treasury on the Duke's Plan."

This letter did not reach the itinerant Colonel till October. He then at once refused the offers made him on the ground "that he had not the honour of knowing many of His Majesty's new servants, and that at the distance he then was he would not be supposed to be well informed of the measures they might choose to adopt." * To Shelburne he wrote, "You know best, my Lord, whether I have acted sensibly as a politician, but I know I have acted as a gentleman, and your

* Barré to Conway, October 22nd.

friend."* Shelburne replied, "as we are to meet so soon I defer saying more till then. Don't imagine it's for want of matter, for I have a great deal to say both in applause of your conduct and in return for your kindness to me. You'll hear every thing that has passed on the road."†

Much blame has been cast on Shelburne for thus refusing to throw in his fortunes with Rockingham. A dispassionate consideration of the circumstances of the time will hardly justify that blame. Shelburne was not only opposed to the Stamp Act itself, but guided by the opinion of Camden, was inclined to deny the constitutional power of Parliament to lay an internal tax on the American colonies. He was in any case adverse to the assertion of that power.‡ In these views he was confirmed by a journey which he undertook about this time through the Low Countries and a consideration of the ties which bound them to their Austrian rulers.§ As for the new administration itself, it was composed of Ministers holding the most divergent opinions on the question of the Stamp

* October 23rd, 1765.

† November 9th, 1765.

‡ See his speech on the question. Parliamentary History, xvi. 165.

§ Parliamentary History, xvi. 165. It is probable that a volume of MSS. on this subject among the Lansdowne House MSS. was collected at this time.

Act, and the leading members influenced by Burke wished to declare the right of Parliament to tax and legislate for America in all cases whatsoever; while the King had a very definite intention of not allowing the Stamp Act to be touched if he could avoid it. Again the influence of Newcastle was sure to make itself felt to a great extent in public affairs, and Shelburne with Pitt was resolved no longer to tolerate the interference of Newcastle. It may be urged that had Shelburne joined the Ministry, he would have been strong enough to force his own ideas upon it, but Rockingham though a very dull was a very obstinate man, especially when supported by the Duke of Cumberland and by Burke. The latter has left to posterity an elaborate and ingenious defence* of the Minister whose Private Secretary he was; but the very defence advanced is also the best justification of Shelburne as it confesses that the resolution to repeal the Stamp Act, for the execution of which all the preparations still continued to be made,† was not even entertained till the news of the troubles in America arrived, while Cumberland, on whose patronage the Ministry depended, was not only an upholder of the Stamp Act, but was the last person to have given way before the appearance

* Speech on American taxation, April 19th, 1774.

† See the authorities quoted by Mr. Bancroft at vol. iv. 216. "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham," i. 284.

of resistance. Fortunately for the Rockingham Whigs Cumberland died in October; but even after that event, the divided and distracted condition of the Cabinet is witnessed to by Lord Hardwicke, who had joined it as Minister *sans portefeuille.**

That Shelburne might with his own opinions, have carried the day and forced his policy on the King as Lord Rockingham did afterwards, is indeed possible, but it is far more probable that the Declaratory Act would have been a fatal stone of offence, and that a fresh ministerial crisis would have taken place in consequence. Be that as it may, the arguments for and against joining the Ministry were, to say the least, so evenly balanced that few persons will doubt that Shelburne was the best judge for himself.

But there was another circumstance connected with the advent of the Rockingham Administration, profoundly distasteful to him as well as to Pitt. Among those who now re-appeared on the political scene, was the famous, or as Shelburne would have said, "infamous," Lord George Sackville. Shelburne had many opportunities of forming an opinion on both the military and political career of the new Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. The nature of that opinion may be gathered from the following

* "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham," vol. i. p. 284.

picture, which though in some respects anticipating a subsequent portion of the narrative, may here be read with interest:*

Account of Lord George Sackville.

"Lord George Sackville was third son of Lionel, Duke of Dorset. His mother was the daughter of a Scotch gentleman of a private family.

"The old Duke of Dorset was born and bred in Queen Anne's time; he was in all respects a perfect English courtier, and nothing else. A large grown, full person, which together with some other circumstances procured him the friendship of Lady Betty Germain, who proved her attachment to him by leaving away from her own relations to his third son a very considerable property upon condition of his taking the surname "Germain," but to revert to them in case of his inheriting the Dukedom. He had the good fortune to come into the world with the Whigs, and partook of their good fortune to his death. He never had an opinion about public matters, which together with his qualifications as a Courtier and his being of an old Sussex family, a circumstance which weighed greatly with the Pelhams, kept him during his whole life in a continual succession of great places, such as Steward of the Household, twice Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Presi-

* For an account of this paper, see Preface.

dent of the Council, Warden of the Cinque Ports, &c. He preserved to the last, the good breeding, decency of manners, and dignity of exterior deportment of Queen Anne's time, never departing from his style of gravity and ceremony. He was once at the play, when Mr. Cary, who had been his Secretary in Ireland, a light sort of a man, asked him across two or three benches, loud enough for those between to hear, whether my Lord Middlesex undertook the opera next year. The question at first discomposed the Duke somewhat, but he turned about and replied: "Upon my word Mr. Cary, I have not considered what answer to make to such a question."

"His eldest son Lord Middlesex, I believe was never much heard of in public life. Lady Middlesex was generally understood, after Lady Archibald Hamilton, to have become the subject of the Prince of Wales's attention (which appears more particularly from Lord Melcombe's diary), to which her husband appears to have submitted very quietly, who it may be supposed led a dissipated life on his side. It appears by what Lord Melcombe says that he was early embarrassed in his affairs and considerably involved in debt, which together with other circumstances, made him always ill with his father. His appearance after the death of his father was always that of a proud, disgusted, melancholy, solitary man, and his conduct, particularly towards

those who were to succeed to the title, being totally unprovoked on their part, went so far beyond what could have been dictated by his creditors or his wants, as to savour very strongly of madness, a disorder which there was too much reason to suppose, ran in the blood, from the behaviour of Lord John Sackville, the second son, who after marrying a daughter of Lord Gower under some very strange circumstances, behaved still more strangely when he was embarking with his regiment upon some expedition; so that his family thought it most prudent that he should resign his commission, and undergo a sort of family exile near Lausanne in Switzerland, where I saw him in the winter of 1760 living upon a very poor allowance and but very meanly looked after. He was very fond of coming among the young English at Lausanne, who suffered his company at times from motives of curiosity and sometimes from humanity. He was always dirtily clad, but it was easy to perceive something gentlemanlike in his manners, and a look of birth about him under all his disadvantages. His conversation was a mixture of weakness and shrewdness, as is common to most madmen. When he heard of his brother Lord George's behaviour at the battle of Minden, he immediately said, "I always told you that my brother George was no better than myself."

Lord George, the third son, afterwards Lord Sackville, had by these means a great road open to his father's favour, on which he imposed by many circumstances so as to gain the entire and exclusive direction of him. He was a tall man, with a long face, rather strong features, clear blue eyes, a large make, though rather womanly, not too corpulent, and a mixture of quickness and a sort of melancholy in his look which runs through all the Sackville family, such as is seen in the antique statues often to accompany great beauty. He was educated at Westminster school, where he became connected with a remarkable set of men, who were then upon the Westminster foundation, the principal of whom were Mr. Murray, since Lord Mansfield; the two Stones, one of whom came to be Secretary to and in effect governed the Duke of Newcastle—the other, Primate of Ireland; Markham, since Archbishop of York, &c., a set of men who by sticking together and contenting themselves mostly with subaltern situations or at least with subaltern roads to great situations, pursuing always a Machiavelian line of policy, clinging to the Duke of Newcastle and his brother as long as they had any power left, and abandoning them as readily to pay their court to every new favourite, cultivating Whig connections with Tory principles, continued always to enjoy substantial power and patronage, while greater men

were without difficulty suffered to do the business and take the honours of it.*

"From Westminster his father carried him to Ireland when he first went Lord Lieutenant, and during his absence from thence left him under the particular care of the Master of the Rolls there, Mr. Carter, a man of a very original character, whose uncommon sagacity and shrewdness as well as depth of understanding, would have distinguished and advanced him in any country. This shrewd old man observed Lord George Sackville's countenance and manner dining at a side-table in his own house with some persons of his own age—Mr. Carter's own table being full—when a slight dispute occurred; and saw enough into his character to make him advise the Duke of Dorset when he returned to Ireland, whatever he did with his son, never to put him into the army. Had the Duke followed this advice, the whole empire would probably have followed the fate of the particular parts which were committed to his care, for I do not conceive that anything but the checks which stopped his military career, could have prevented his being Prime Minister. He was however prepared for another destiny: he took the military line, and was rapidly advanced in it.

* There is an exactly similar account of the same set of men in the Chapter of Autobiography.

"He commanded a regiment in Flanders and in Scotland. I have heard the officers of the regiment affirm that he was frequently found in Scotland listening at the officers' tents to hear what was said of him.

"He afterwards attended his father when he was appointed a second time Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom* as Secretary, and, together with Primate Stone, whom the Duke of Dorset made Primate, threw that kingdom into the utmost confusion, by attempting measures which Government had not the power either here or there to carry through, and which they had still less the ability and the weight to conduct. They attempted a change of measures and modes of administration at one and the same time, and without the least regard to public opinion, and that at a time when the characteristic of English Government was its moderation, and the only chance of its subsisting was its candour, its integrity, and its inoffensiveness: Mr. Pelham just dead, and the Duke of Newcastle weak and incompetent, attacked on all sides by younger men of ability and vigour, who were seeking for every breath of popularity to aid them against him.

"Ireland had been governed by a few men who were called undertakers. They were commonly

* The Duke of Dorset was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, from 1731 to 1737, and 1751 to 1755.

appointed Lords Justices in the absence of the Lord-Lieutenant, and were used on his arrival once in two years to *undertake*, as it was termed, to carry the business of government through the House of Commons there, upon condition of their obtaining a pretty good provision for themselves, and as hard a bargain for others as they could drive for Government; for their credit depended with the English Government upon the cheapness of it. The poor Duke of Dorset was made by his son and the Primate to commence politician and man of business at sixty. The undertakers were dismissed. Their weight, connections, and habits, which were formerly applied to keep the people ignorant, happy, and quiet, were immediately applied with all possible activity, for their existence depended on it, to instruct, to animate, and to disquiet them, in doing which they could find no great difficulty, considering that the character of the people was naturally turbulent, impetuous, and uncivilised, ten Roman Catholics without property or principle to one Protestant with or without property, *new* measures brought forward in a country where nothing *new* had been agitated since the Revolution, except the paltry business of Wood's halfpence, which might have taught them experience; and the contrivers of all this without either solid sense, natural interest, or courage to support what they had undertaken.

"It is natural to suppose under these circumstances that Government was defeated. The Primate was protected by his Primacy; Lord George Sackville escaped with difficulty from the fury of the populace. Another Lord Lieutenant was sent over to quiet things. The undertakers were restored, but could no longer make the good terms for Government which they used to do; things were laid too much open for the old system to revive; and there was no new system prepared to substitute in its place. The foundation was thus laid, and may be easily traced from that time to the total emancipation of the legislature of Ireland from that of Great Britain, and the complete Revolution which has since taken place in regard to the fundamental laws of Ireland.

"His Irish unpopularity did not affect his line in England, where it was little attended to, and less understood; he rose rapidly in consideration, and his fortune ran quickly to its termin. In the military line he had no rival, at least no one who could cope with him in regard to family, fortune, connection, or talents for imposition and intrigue. Enough was known of his character for everybody to fear him, as he was generally understood to be of a vindictive, implacable disposition. In a political line he did not as yet set up to be Minister, which made him an object to all parties as a second. Mr.

Pitt and Mr. Fox both bid for him; his Westminster connection secured him constant access to the Duke of Newcastle, and let him into every secret of that house, while he assiduously cultivated and promoted his mother's country people, the Scotch, which made a form of union between him and the Earl of Bute. He naturally excelled in that species of dexterity and address which enabled him to turn all these circumstances to his consideration. The war breaking out, he could not avoid serving, which he chose to do upon the coast of France under the Duke of Marlborough, an easy, good-natured, gallant man, who took a strange fancy for serving, to get quit of the *ennui* attending a private life, without any military experience or the common habits of a man of business, or indeed capacity for either, and no force of character whatever. This opened a fine game to Lord G. Sackville, who played it off to the utmost. Instead of losing consideration by being only second in command, he gained considerably in the eyes of the army. He took every advantage of the Duke of Marlborough's goodness and weakness of character, and in point of manner trespassed upon him without measure. Everything that was well done, every one that was served, it was all Lord George's doing. Everything that was neglected or ill done, every fault that was committed, every person that was

disobliged, it was all the poor Duke of Marlborough. Lord George's favourites, emissaries, and expectants in the army, which were naturally without number, as there was no one else to look up to or fear, were perpetually occupied in running down the Duke of Marlborough for the purpose of crying up Lord G. Sackville, while the Duke of Marlborough had no one about him except a very shy son, and two or three good people, without any party or plan of making one, having ambitioned the command pretty much as a boy from school does a scarlet coat. Besides, his character was not made in any respect to resist or detect any man. He therefore naturally sunk under the art and management of the person next in command, but what is scarcely credible, yet what I know to be true, all the time he did so, he was in the habit of describing Lord G. Sackville in the most odious colours possible, and pointing out *every* failing which he had, but he did not know how to emancipate himself. Lord George took an equal lead in appearance though not in reality over Lord Howe, who though in many respects the opposite of the Duke of Marlborough and disposed in consequence on most occasions to resist Lord George, yet did it in so awkward a manner, as only to give Lord George's talents for intrigue a little employment. Lord George's pride which

was naturally very great, grew into the most intolerable insolence. Everything fell before him till the fleet approached the coast. It would have been well for Lord George and perhaps for the public, at least so far as the particular service was concerned, if Lord George could have made the enemy feel any part of those powers which he displayed on board the *Magnanime*. It is painful to point out, and much more to dwell on failings which are incident to human nature, and at the same time lead to the contempt of it. The following lines which appeared in the newspaper in the course of the winter, sufficiently explain the character of the Lieutenant-General on shore. It is to be feared there was too much foundation for what is insinuated, and more need not be said.

"All pale and trembling on the Gallic shore,
His Lordship gave the word, but could no more;
Too small the corps, too few the numbers were,
Of such a general to demand the care.
To some mean chief, some Major or a Brig.,*
He left his charge that night, nor cared a fig;
'Twixt life and scandal, 'twixt honour and the grave,
Quickly deciding which was best to save,
Back to the ships he ploughed the swelling wave."

"The army landed, reconnoitered St. Malo, burned a few empty ships, which were out of reach of the

* Brigadier-General Mostyn.

cannon of the place, and returned to the fleet and with the fleet to England.

"It was not the business of any party to attack Lord George. Mr. Pitt had too much on his hands and felt his power too little established to risk it. The German war was at the same time resolved upon; six thousand of the best of the troops were detached from the coast of France to Germany. It was an object for several political reasons to have the troops commanded by the Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville. Lord George had seen enough of that service not to wish to return to it, and therefore willingly left the remainder of the army under a General without interest and without favour, to attack with little more than half the number of troops and the regiments (now the French were everywhere upon their guard along the Channel to which our operations were visibly confined), the same or still stronger places on the coast than what he attempted with the whole, knowing as he thought pretty well what must come of it. On his arrival in Germany he continued to play the same game as before in regard to the Duke of Marlborough; but Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick formed a very different chapter from any he had ever yet to deal with. The Duke was bred not only in the camp but in the Court of Prussia; he was in all respects an experienced soldier, and a proud high man; he

was in the habit of doing his business within himself, and had besides officers of character and experience who knew their business and were attached to him. He was the near relation of the King of Prussia, and recommended by him to the command of the allied army; he was likewise related to our King, and corresponded directly with him, while he was sure of Mr. Pitt's vigorous support from motives of common interest; he had a corps of his own family troops in the army under the command of his nephew, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, besides a corps of Prussians, and the bulk of the army were Germans. He must have immediately seen Lord George's inefficiency as a military man, and very quickly saw through his tricks, so that he knew what he had to expect, nor was he of a temper easily to endure any rival near the throne. Lord George on his part immediately set himself to make a distinction and draw a line between English and German, to cultivate a line of popularity among the former which his very nature opposed, to pry into the accounts and the expenditure of the army, and to criticise and nibble at every move which Prince Ferdinand made, assuming as much in point of manner as the Duke's own manner, who was himself a pretty good master of that science, would let him do. The Duke of Marlborough died of a fever at Munster. Lord George succeeded to be Commander-

in-Chief of the British troops, and Lord Granby succeeded to be second in command, who was made for popularity, had all the good qualities of the Duke of Marlborough, but more force of character, more activity, and a natural turn to the army. He had his quarters, his purse, and his heart perpetually open to the whole army without the least spirit of intrigue. He took decidedly the line of Prince Ferdinand from no motive of jealousy or ill-will to Lord George, to whom he always behaved with more than respect, and a degree of honour which went the length of delicacy on all occasions, and refinement upon some, but from motives of probity, generosity of nature, and a laudable ambition. A little anecdote may serve to show how much Lord George risked in regard to Prince Ferdinand, and of how much imprudence he was capable.

"The night but one before the Battle of Minden at supper at the head-quarters, Lord George dwelt during the whole supper upon the character of the Maréchal de Contades, who commanded the French army, extolling him in the highest degree. Prince Ferdinand, who was naturally touchy, bore it for a considerable time, till his patience becoming exhausted, he could not help breaking out, "*Mais pourtant j'ai vu le dos du Maréchal de Contades; il n'a jamais vu le mien;*" to which Lord George replied, "*Où, Monseigneur Prince Ferdinand, à*

Crévelt?" Upon this Lord George proceeded to prove that Crévelt was only an affair and not a battle.

"What happened at the Battle of Minden sufficiently appears from the papers of the time. No military man can have any difficulty in forming a just judgment of Lord George's conduct, who compares the paper he wrote and circulated immediately upon Prince Ferdinand's issuing the order which reflected upon him with his defence at his court-martial. The conduct of the army towards him was scandalous; he was universally deserted. Those who were accustomed to fawn upon him even after the battle, when the order came to be issued, neglected, nay, even insulted him. It may be curious to observe, to show his habit of imposing, that immediately after the battle he came up to the 20th Regiment, with whom he was always unpopular, talked of the glory of the day, and confounded the officers, who had just come out of the heat of the action, by addressing himself to Colonel Tenant, who was then Captain of Grenadiers, and saying "*how happy we have all done our duty.*"

"Upon his return he was tried, and sentenced in terms the most humiliating which could be invented. It was understood that his life was spared out of regard to his family, and to the earnest intercession of his father.

"The old King wanted him expelled the House of Commons, and pressed the measure upon Mr. Pitt in the presence of Lord Holdernesse, who persisted in declining it, alleging that if he was expelled and afterwards came to be re-elected, which might happen for some family borough, he did not see what the House of Commons could do, which marked a sagacity in Mr. Pitt which did him the highest honour, considering all that since happened upon Mr. Wilkes' expulsion; the King finding Mr. Pitt persist, turned round to Lord Hardwicke and said, "*Then I do wish Pitt* very much *joy upon the company which he wishes to keep.*" After this Lord George sank into obscurity and general contempt. No man would be seen to speak to him in the House of Commons or anywhere else. However he persevered, till men grew weary of showing him a contempt which did not abash him. At last the Rockingham party in 1765, who wanted equally both penetration and fortitude, were the first to whitewash him, for no other reason than that they were under an apprehension that they should have nobody to speak for them the first day of the Session, on account of the seats of the principal persons of the party being vacated in consequence of their accepting office till they could be re-elected. They did not venture to restore him to his military rank, but they brought him back to the Privy

Council, and appointed him Vice Treasurer of Ireland. Lord Chatham coming in the following year dismissed him from being Vice Treasurer, while however both he and the Court had gained the grand point of his being once more producible to great employment. To this end he continued taking the most popular part he was capable of, and recovering as much consideration as he could, which his new friends were very well calculated to give him, while he took care to have the advantage of them, till the Court with which he was always connected underhand, thought it proper to call him forth to be American Secretary. The Court itself, and indeed most men were dupes to his imposing manners, and gave him credit for a great deal more ability than he had. Whatever some might pretend, there was but one opinion about his military incapacity, but he was supposed to have great *Civil* talents; as for principle, it was not what the Court wanted, and in point of attachment they thought themselves on many accounts perfectly sure of him. The papers which were laid before Parliament and published, sufficiently prove how much they were mistaken; the papers which were withheld from Parliament and remain in the office, prove still more strongly Lord George's incapacity. He endured every species of indignity, from Sir Guy Carleton particularly, and other officers with whom

he was obliged to correspond. There was a general diffidence as to his honour, and a general disrespect for his person, which was greatly heightened by the treatment he underwent in the House of Commons and the poor figure he made there. He sent out the greatest force which this country ever assembled, both of land and sea forces, which together perhaps exceeded the greatest effort ever made by any nation, considering the distance and all other circumstances, but was totally unable to combine the operations of the war, much less to form any general plan for bringing about a reconciliation. The best plan which was formed in the office was one which was given in by General Arnold. The inconsistent orders given to Generals Howe and Burgoyne could not be accounted for except in a way which it must be difficult for any person who is not conversant with the negligence of office to comprehend.

"Among many singularities he had a particular aversion to being put out of his way on any occasion; he had fixed to go into Kent or Northamptonshire at a particular hour, and to call on his way at his office to sign the dispatches, all of which had been settled, to both these Generals. By some mistake those to General Howe were not fair copied, and upon his growing impatient at it, the office, which was a very idle one, promised to

send it to the country after him, while they dispatched the others to General Burgoyne, expecting that the others could be expedited before the packet sailed with the first, which however by some mistake sailed without them, and the wind detained the vessel which was ordered to carry the rest. Hence came General Burgoyne's defeat, the French declaration, and the loss of thirteen Colonies. It might appear incredible if his own Secretary and the most respectable persons in office had not assured me of the fact; what corroborates it, is that it can be accounted for no other way. It requires as much experience in business to comprehend the very trifling causes which have produced the greatest events, as it does strength of reason to develop the deepest design.

"The capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army united the whole Kingdom in one opinion of the impracticability of the War, and the incapacity of the Minister who conducted it. Lord George was obliged to retire from office, but did it under cover of a Peerage, which gave occasion to an unprecedented motion and debate in the House of Lords, which for the sake of the Crown and its prerogative, as well as for the honour of the Peerage, it is to be hoped will never be again provoked under this or any future reign. The character he left in his office was that of a man, violent, sanguine, and over-

bearing in the first conception and setting out of plans, but easily checked and liable to sink into an excess of despondency upon the least reverse without any sort of resource. The persons he brought into office were all, except his Principal Secretary, Mr. Doyley (who came about him I don't know by what accident), of a very obscure description, more or less of adventurers, of doubtful morals, and worse than doubtful integrity; but what disgraced him most of all, was his inveterate habit of corruption. He was not content with obtaining for his sons reversions of offices to a considerable amount, which ought to be executed by resident and capable persons and have since that time become the subject of an express Act of Parliament, but he made the most of almost everything he had to give, particularly of the Governments in the West Indies, and that in a moment when it was of the utmost consequence to choose men of the highest eminence and character for those important trusts. This was notorious from the character of those he appointed, some of whom had no previous connection with him, and others a very low one; but there are not wanting such proofs of what passed as leave it out of all manner of doubt. The chief plans which he left in the office turn upon confiscations; and a total change in the mode of governing the Colonies, which it would have been folly to have attempted

in the quietest times. His conversation to the officers going out, went entirely upon forfeitures and every species of severity.

"The last public act of his life was a perfect epitome of all the rest, which was his opposition to the Irish propositions after his conduct in Ireland, and his failure in the management of American affairs; not to mention a variety of other disadvantageous circumstances under which he stood in the House of Lords, it was a proof of no small effrontery and presumption to commence prophet afresh, and revive principles of high Government which had cost us so much and so lately too; he likewise showed no small address in refraining from speaking, while there was anybody present who was likely to answer him with any degree of point; he judged perfectly well the state of parties and the character of Ministry, and by means of indirect support which he received from different sides from different motives, and having had no reply made him, he contrived to make an impression which gave him a degree of momentary *éclat*, and would if he had lived have probably procured the object he had immediately in view, of obtaining some distinction for a son-in-law, who consented to take back his daughter under very base and dishonourable circumstances, and of forwarding lines of secret intrigue, which no man

studied more, and giving vent to his general principles of policy and government. Upon the whole, his life deserves to be recorded as exhibiting more striking examples of the effects of good and bad fortune than has hitherto happened in our time.

"He owed such success as he met with in life, to his birth, the gravity of his manner, a naturally clear understanding, which prevented his taking up any argument in private and still less in public of which he was not complete master, but above all to his talent for imposition of every kind but one. As most men when they are content to apply their mind only to one thing, gain a wonderful tact in it, and especially when it regards manner only, he attained a very great faculty of judging both of parties and men, and turning both to what was always uppermost in his mind, his general line of imposition; he had no desire of searching out truth, he had no scruples, no management for any friends; was used to content himself with taking up the corner of an argument upon which he used to declaim with great decision and a great deal of seeming force, and for the most part judged both his time and place admirably well. Next to himself he owed his consideration to his mother's country; he erected a Scotch standard which always stuck to him, and his Westminster connection never failed to advise

and support him underhand, even when he was most pressed. But he wanted judgment in all great affairs, and he wanted heart on every occasion. He neither knew mankind nor did he know himself: the first is sufficiently proved by his never having had a creditable connection; the second by his putting himself repeatedly in situations in which he could not acquit himself, and putting himself forward in a manner both revolting and unbecoming, which no wise man would have ventured. He had likewise a great want of secrecy, naturally enough a part of the same character and to be accounted for on the same principles.

"He might be considered as an object of pity for some of his other failings, but what should deprive him of any, and must stain his character for evermore, was his intolerable meanness and love of corruption, which he could not resist even when he enjoyed an ample fortune, and it might be supposed could want nothing to die in peace with his own mind but to retrieve his character or to leave his family but a good name. If he had had the smallest spark of elevation within him, the distresses of his country, the part which he was called upon to act, and the height which it might be supposed he had in view, would have excited it, but "Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret."

CHAPTER VII.

THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT.

1765–1766.

BY the end of 1765 Shelburne had returned to public life. Appearing in the House of Lords he at once attacked the Stamp Act, though unsupported and alone, recollecting possibly what had followed a similar bold declaration in favour of peace a few years before. The Earl of Suffolk, during the debate on the address on December 17th, in moving an amendment, used language of the most insulting character with reference to the colonists. Shelburne replied. On his way to London he had had an interview with Pitt at Bath, and consequently spoke animated not only with the consciousness of a good cause, but with the knowledge that he was the mouthpiece of a more powerful statesman than himself, though possibly this was one of the occasions when he felt that the Great Commoner

had preferred throwing the responsibility of overt action on others to taking it on his own shoulders.* "I was desirous," Shelburne wrote immediately afterwards to his chief, "to act with firmness, and without regard to little views, upon those principles which made part of the conversation you honoured me with at Bath. There were other motives likewise, which incited me very strongly to the part I took. I felt attaching the name of *rebellion*, hastily, and *traitors*, to the Americans, and comparing them to the Scots at Derby, which was the language used, dangerous, and perhaps both imprudent and unjust. I could not help deprecating as strongly as I could, a motion which seemed to preclude a repeal, before it was considered thoroughly how far it might be necessary, and without committing myself on what might be fit to be done, I endeavoured to distinguish the real ties by which America might be supposed to hold to this country, in order to obviate objections arising from a thousand false lights thrown out on the subject; acknowledging the power of Parliament to be supreme, but referring the expediency of the act to be considered in a commercial view, regard being had to the abilities of the Americans to pay this tax, and likewise to the consequences likely to proceed in any event from the late violences."

* See the character of Pitt in the Chapter of Autobiography.

With these sentiments he accordingly declared "Before we resolve upon rash measures we should consider first the expediency of the law and next our power to enforce it. The wisest legislators have been mistaken. The laws of Carolina, though planned by Shaftesbury and Locke, were found impracticable, and are now grown obsolete. The Romans planted colonies to increase their power; we to extend our commerce. Let the regiments in America, at Halifax or Pensacola, embark at once upon the same destination, and no intervening accident disappointing the expedition, what could be effected against colonies so populous and of such magnitude and extent? The colonies may be ruined first, but the distress will end with ourselves."*

"Although the prejudice against the Americans on the whole seemed very strong and there was no very decided opinion in favour of the Ministry, yet" as Shelburne informed Pitt, "such was the power of even a changeable Court influence that the administration divided 80 to 24. What has passed in the House of Commons," he continued, "you will doubtless hear from better hands. I understand there has been a good deal of debating there on different things without much effect, and not followed by any remarkable division. The last was upon the question of adjourn-

* Hugh Hammersley to Lieutenant-Governor Sharpe, December 1765, quoted by Mr. Bancroft, vol. iv. 260.

ment. I had no idea that my conduct in the House of Lords could be remembered beyond the day; but the next day Lord Rockingham sent Sir Jeffrey Amherst to Colonel Barré, and yesterday sent Mr. Dunning to Colonel Barré and to me, with a great many flattering expressions in regard to Tuesday; and in short, what I am almost ashamed to relate, that if I choose to make a part of the present system, he thought he could answer any opening would be made that I could wish, and that Colonel Barré should have rank in the army or anything else added to the Vice-Treasurership, which had been offered him some time since. My answer was very short and very frank: that, independent of my connection, I was convinced, from my opinion of the state of the Court as well as the state of affairs everywhere, no system could be formed, durable and respectable, if Mr. Pitt could not be prevailed on to direct and head it.

"This produced a certain degree of communication on that head, in which Lord Rockingham expressed himself certain of Mr. Pitt's good wishes, and that they were most ready to be disposed of as he pleased mixed however with a great apprehension in consequence of second-hand accounts and anecdotes, which I do not think worth troubling Mr. Pitt with; and a great embarrassment as to the manner of application to Colonel Barré, who

returned a still more explicit answer to the same purpose.

"You will not think I have much merit in this conduct when I add that I am astonished at their infatuation in being persuaded, as they appear to be, of the confidence of the Court, notwithstanding a very particular conduct in Lord Bute, and a party constantly pervading it, of Lord Egremont, Lord Chancellor, Charles Townshend, Lord George Sackville, Sir Fletcher Norton, &c., ready at a moment's warning, to embrace any system.

"'Tis you, Sir, alone, in everybody's opinion, can put an end to this anarchy, if anything can.

"I am satisfied your own judgment will best point out the time when you can do it with most effect. You will excuse me I am sure, when I hazard my thoughts to you, as it depends greatly upon you whether they become opinions, but by all I find from some authentic letters from America, nothing can be more serious than its present state, and, though it is my private opinion, it would be well for this country to be back where it was a year ago, I even despair of a repeal effecting that, if it is not accompanied with some circumstances of a firm conduct, and some system immediately following such a concession."

Mr. Pitt replied to this letter as follows:

December 1765.

My dear Lord,—I am honoured with your Lordship's friendly and confidential letter, the contents of which bear such marks of kind and flattering sentiments on my subject as I little deserve or can ever forget. The clear view of the outline of men and things which your Lordship gives me, affords a large field for reflection, and certainly demands no small circumspection, with exact and nice limits in action where a conjecture too much or too little must qualify every step, wise or weak, salutary or ruinous.

The line your Lordship took the first day in the House of Lords I should have been proud and happy could I have been able to have held pace with in the House of Commons; being under the strongest conviction that, allowing full force to all the striking topics for upholding in the present instance the legislative and executive authority over America, the ruinous side of the dilemma to which we are brought is the making good by force there, preposterous and infatuated errors in policy here; and I shall unalterably sustain that opinion.

The opening from Lord Rockingham to your Lordship and Colonel Barré, which you are so good as to impart to me, you will easily believe could not surprise me; nothing being so natural

as for Ministers, under the extreme double pressure of affairs all in confusion, and doubtful internal situation, to recur to distinguished abilities for assistance. The further resource to which the very flattering answers made to these openings pointed is indeed such as, without affectation, I blush to read.

Would to God, my dear Lord, that all my vanity, awakened as it may well be by such reputed testimonies, were able to tell me I could really effect any material public good!

The evils are I fear, incurable. Faction shakes and corruption saps the country to its foundations, nor are the means, such as these wretched conditions could admit, so much as opened in the extent and with an authenticity sufficient to engage a close and confidential deliberation among common friends bent on the same great object. To speak plain, until the King is pleased to signify his pleasure to me that I should again submit my thoughts upon the formation of such a system, both as to the measures and as to the instruments which are to constitute that system, and that in so ample and full an extent as shall leave nothing to the eyes of men equivocal on the outside of it, nor any dark creeping factions scattering doubts and sowing discords within

I should not omit, though I am already too

* The sentence is unfinished: its meaning is obvious.

tedious, that I have said on proper occasions that I would continue to attribute to such of the Ministers as lately entered on the scene of affairs, good intentions and right principles, until by their actions they obliged me to think otherwise, declaring at the same time that I can never have confidence in a system where the Duke of Newcastle has influence. That must cease as well as many other things before I shall think the ground clear enough to entertain the smallest hope for the public.

Melancholy indeed are the accounts your Lordship mentions from America. Allow me still, my dear Lord, to suggest that allowance must be made for first alarms, as well as that I fear the very air of this mother-country breathes too much partial resentments against those unhappy men provoked to madness.

Lady Chatham and I are infinitely honoured by Lady Shelburne's very obliging remembrance. We both join in sincere congratulations on the happy domestic event,* and offering many respectful compliments, I am, my dear Lord, &c.,

W. Pitt.

The session of 1766 was opened with a Royal speech which painfully revealed the doubts and

* Lord Shelburne had had a son and heir on the 6th of the month.

hesitations of the Ministers. It required the fierce partizanship of Burke to see the repeal of the Stamp Act, "very sufficiently crayoned out,"* when the King said: "If any alterations should be wanting in the "commercial economy of the plantations which may "tend to enlarge and secure the mutual and "beneficial intercourse of my kingdoms and colonies, "they will deserve your most serious consideration. "In effectuating a purpose so worthy of your wisdom "and public spirit, you may depend upon my most "hearty concurrence and support."† These words were uttered on January 14th, and on that same day Pitt pronounced a speech against all internal taxation of America by Parliament, which shook to the centre the tottering edifice of the Rockingham administration. "He had come up to town," as he afterwards sarcastically said, "upon the American affair, a point on which he feared they might be borne down."‡ His eloquence, disingenuous as it was in many respects, once more made the Ministers,

* Speech of April 19th, 1774. How completely Burke was thrown off his mental balance in the course of this speech may be seen by a comparison of his denunciations of political compromise as "the constant resource of weak undeciding minds," with his praises of it as "the foundation of Government" in the speech on Conciliation with America, March 22nd, 1775, and in the reflections on the French Revolution.

† King's Speech, "Parl. Hist." vol. xvi., January 14th, 1766.

‡ Duke of Grafton, Autobiography.

though "extremely unwilling to admit the Trojan horse,"* suppliants at his feet.

Many years after, George III. himself gave an account of what passed about this period to Lord Ashburton, "with a view to impress the latter with an idea of his never having given any of his Ministers on leaving him a ground to complain of him. He said he was not conscious that the country had, or that he had anything to reproach himself with, except that he had suffered himself to be persuaded by the late Duke of Cumberland to quarrel with Mr. Grenville; that Grenville had shown him the plan of measures which he justified, but that he thought it was wrong; that upon some explanation it appeared to be made up, but that in a month or two after Mr. Grenville thought fit to leave him; that he found the Duke of Cumberland had indeed deceived him or himself in thinking he could make up an administration with Mr. Pitt, who he found would have nothing to do with the Duke of Cumberland. The Duke then introduced Lord Rockingham, &c., who never appeared to him to have a decided opinion about things. They sent Lord Shelburne that now is to Bath to get at Mr. Pitt's opinion about repealing the Stamp Act, meaning to do whatever he should advise, but he would give up no opinion;†

* Hardwicke to C. Yorke. January 1765.

† See, too, Newcastle to Rockingham, January 3rd, 1766, in the

that Lord North represented to him that the Rockinghams were too foolish to go on with and recommended a change; that he observed to Lord North there would be nothing left but himself and Lord Egmont, and that unless they would undertake it he must send to Mr. Pitt." *

The First Lord of the Treasury had come to the same conclusion as the King.

On the day after the debate he wrote to his Royal Master that it was clear the administration would be shook to the greatest degree if no further attempt was made to get Mr. Pitt to take a cordial part, as "the events of the preceding day had shown his amazing powers and influence whenever he took part in debate."† At the same time the despondent Prime Minister—conscious in all probability of the contempt which Pitt felt for him—held out little hope that any negociation which he could set on foot would prove successful, and it was only after many hesitations that with Grafton he conveyed to the Great Commoner the message of the King that he was willing

Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham, i. 269. Pitt was justified in refusing to advise the Ministers, but it is impossible to acquit him of disingenuous conduct when immediately after he spoke of himself as "unconsulted."

* This conversation between George III. and Lord Ashburton took place in 1783. The whole of it will be printed in vol. ii.

† "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham," vol. i. p. 271.

once more to summon him to his councils. The message was verbal, as the King considered sending it in writing* extremely dangerous. On its receipt Pitt hastened to town in order to give Shelburne a full account of what had passed relative to it. "The earlier," he writes to him on January 20th, "I can have the pleasure of seeing you the more satisfactory to my impatient wishes of conferring with the person I hold most essential to any good for this country." An interview accordingly took place that same evening at which they settled the terms on which they would join the Ministry, but these terms were most unpalatable to Rockingham and his friends. Although no precise record is preserved, there can be no doubt, from what had just passed, that the repeal of the Stamp Act, the abandonment of the projected Declaratory Bill and the exclusion of the Duke of Newcastle, were the main points insisted on.† The negociation at once broke down. "I have seen Lord Rockingham," writes

* "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham," vol. i. p. 271, where the word is "answer." It should be "message."

† It is important to note that the great debate on the introduction of the Stamp Act into the House of Commons was on February 21st, as given in Walpole, "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 296, and not on January 21st, as stated in the Parliamentary History, whence the error has crept into many other books. For further details as to the negociation between Pitt and Rockingham, see Bancroft, iv. 280, and the authorities there quoted.

Pitt to Shelburne, the day after their interview, "and am informed that His Majesty does not judge proper upon the report of my answers to have any further proceeding in the matter."

The Ministry again left to themselves, again fell into internal disputes. The King at once took advantage of the position to intrigue for the dismissal of those of his advisers who were most decidedly for the repeal, to which Newcastle, Rockingham, and Dartmouth had at last frankly committed themselves, while Hardwicke, the Chancellor, Barrington, and Charles Yorke were opposed to it. Finally, a common ground was found in the Declaratory Bill. "From the necessity of the times," says Hardwicke, "and the universal clamour which the merchants and manufacturers had raised about the Stamp Act, I concurred in the repeal of it. It was principally owing to my brother that the dignity and authority of the legislature were kept up by the Bill for asserting the dependence of the Colonies."*

In the debates on the Stamp Act Shelburne shared the burden and heat of the day with Camden and Grafton, while the Prime Minister sat by, dumb and speechless;† but in the debate on the Declaratory Resolutions he abandoned the Ministers. "There were only two questions," he said, "for the

* "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham," pp. 284, 285.

† Grafton to Conway, April 22nd, 1766.

consideration of Parliament, repeal or no repeal. It was unwise to raise the question of right, whatever their opinions might be. Let them be warned by the example of the statesmen of Vienna, who from a dearly-bought experience, refrained from taxing the inhabitants of Brussels and of Antwerp—cities which he had himself but lately visited—while claiming the right of doing so, a right the existence of which in the case of England and her Colonies, he, to say the least, ventured to doubt."* These being his opinions, he with Camden, Cornwallis, Paulet, and Torrington, alone divided the House against the Declaratory Resolutions. "With these five," says the American historian, "stood the invisible genius of popular reform."† The majority consisted of one hundred and twenty-five peers.

Notwithstanding these differences of opinion and the failure of all his previous attempts, Rockingham resolved upon a last negociation. Its fate can be read in the two following letters:

Shelburne to Pitt.

February 24th, 1766.

Though I was very much ashamed to have troubled you lately upon such an ill-grounded tale, it is not through an apprehension of my having

* Parliamentary History, xvi. 165.

† Bancroft, vol. iv. p. 291.

lost any degree of your attention by it, that makes me rather write than wait upon you, to tell you the particulars of a conversation I had yesterday at the French Minister's with Lord Rockingham, very much at his desire; which upon consideration since was so distinct, and had so much the appearance of premeditation, that it certainly must have been intended to be communicated directly to you, or else that, as from myself, it should make part of the first conversation you honoured me with, which I look upon as the same thing. But as I neither gave any opinion, and do profess myself totally unable to form any, and nothing passed which makes it necessary for me to renew the conversation, I think this way of communicating it may be more convenient, than desiring to wait upon you.

Lord Rockingham said he intended waiting on you on Saturday but was prevented; that the time was now come, or coming very soon, when something settled was to be formed, if ever, without regard to the Duke of Bedford's party on the one hand, or Lord Bute's on the other, but that he was glad of an opportunity to tell me where he was under the greatest apprehensions it would hitch, and that all that he could do could not prevent it.

He then stated his own situation with regard to some individuals whom though his opinion led him to be almost sure Mr. Pitt would not treat with

harshness in new-casting the system—and was it only himself that was in question, it could not meet with a moment's doubt—yet he could not with any content of mind go into anything where they were to be left to what they might call uncertainty; that, in regard to the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Yorke, though he had reason to believe they might be brought into everything that was desired, yet it was to be wished that it should be proposed with a certain degree of regard, and that manner might reconcile men's minds to that which it would be impossible ever to force them to.

I observed or at least thought he avoided saying whether the seals were to be Mr. Yorke's object, but seemed carefully to adhere to such general terms upon Mr. Yorke's subject, as I have mentioned. He then spoke of the consequence of offending them, perhaps unnecessarily, in point of numbers in the House of Commons, which I took the liberty of telling him, I could not think him serious in mentioning, but upon the whole came to this point that from these reasons, as well as others regarding the King himself, who had always since the Duke's death dwelt upon his not being given up blindfold, that *he was certain* when they came to go into the King, if nothing previous was settled, it would give His Majesty such advantage that everything would be given up without anything certain, and a con-

vulsion would follow which might bring on the late Ministry, or no one knew what; while, if they went in united and in good humour with each other the King was so hampered by many things that had passed, that without entering into any consideration of the interior of the Court he must certainly agree to it. He spoke a good deal of the Duke of Grafton with regard and friendship as a man, but not quite I thought, as a Minister, with that cordiality I could wish. I plainly saw he was convinced the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Conway would bring things to a crisis. He said he had been told from those who had heard it from you, that they had asked more as your friends than he had done, at the same time that you could with great sincerity commend his motives. I told him with great truth that I had never heard any such distinction.

When he spoke of influence about the King I could not help saying something, though as I saw there was little hope of convincing, what I said was so guarded that it amounted to nothing; and as to the rest my aim was to leave it in general where I found it, answering him with great sincerity that I felt myself totally unable to form any judgment in the present confusion, that I could mention even in the greatest confidence to you. And I have only to beg, Sir, that you will not

interpret my relation of the conversation into any opinion of my own, which is one among other reasons of my writing it. It is not only such a labyrinth, but a labyrinth so entangled that I have no faculties which lead me to any understanding of it, or any clue to direct the little judgment I have, and as to passions they have some time subsided in regard to it.

Though I believe I have been pretty exact in relating what Lord Rockingham said, yet as he did not expressly desire it to be communicated, I should be sorry that it made the foundation even of an opinion in your own mind, till you had it from better authority. Though he seemed to me to speak with a manner of decision, yet he may have meant it a manner of negociation which I may not understand. At any rate, I have many pardons to ask for troubling you with so long a letter, and in return I will only beg for a very short one either from you or Lady Chatham to tell me, I hope, that you are not the worse for sitting up so late in the House.

I have the honour to be,

Most respectfully yours,

SHELBURNE.

Mr. Pitt replied as follows:

Hayes, Monday night, February 24th, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD,—Highly sensible of the honour of your Lordship's very friendly attention in taking the trouble to apprise me of a conversation (certainly meant to be communicated), I beg to assure you of my best acknowledgments, and will in answer obey your obliging commands not to enter into much observation upon the matter. I shall confine myself then just to say that Lord Rockingham's plan appears to me to be such as can never bring things to a satisfactory conclusion, his tone being that of a Minister master of the Court and of the public; making openings to men who are seekers of offices and candidates for Ministry. What his Lordship added of the King not being given up blindfold since the Duke of Cumberland's death is either totally unintelligible, or if it does really contain any meaning, there is one man who will very shortly set out for Bath after the American affair is over. In one word, my dear Lord, I shall never set my foot in the Closet but in the hope of rendering the King's personal situation not unhappy, as well as his business not unprosperous, nor will I owe my coming thither to any Court cabal or ministerial connection. The King's pleasure and gracious commands alone shall be a call to me; I am deaf to every other thing. I

will not say more, for I feel I should say too much. The sum of things is that I am fitter for a lonely hill in Somersetshire than for the affairs of State. I will at present add no more to your troubles than to say that I think I perceive your Lordship's sense of this very ministerial discourse without your directly expressing it. A thousand warm thanks for your kind attention to my gout: my foot is more uneasy to-day, but no other part attacked. I am, with truest esteem and respect, your Lordship's

Most faithful servant,

WILLIAM PITT.

In order to understand not merely the events just related but those which followed, it is necessary to bear in mind the substantial difference of opinion on the question of American taxation which existed among the members of the Whig party, a difference which soon showed itself on other questions as well, and added to by various extraneous circumstances rendered common action more and more difficult between them.

To decide on the relative merits of the arguments advanced on either side on the present occasion is difficult. The description of the general power of Parliament including that of taxation, as given by Burke himself in subsequent years* sounds so harm-

* Speech on American taxation, 1774.

less, and yet might be so dangerous if reduced to practice, that few will wonder at the opposition it excited, for it implied that in a war forced possibly on the unwilling colonies by the policy of the mother-country, the former might be deprived of that very right of refusing supplies, which is the only real means possessed by Parliament itself in the mother-country for regulating the policy of the state.

The distinction on the other hand, between internal and external taxation as stated by Pitt and Camden, was bound to carry its supporters further than they at the moment foresaw. It was indeed possible to argue with Franklin that the distinction was real, "because an external tax is a duty laid on commodities imported, and the duty being added to the first cost and other charges on the commodity when it is offered for sale, makes a part of the price, that if the people do not like it at that price they refuse it, and are not obliged to pay it, while an internal tax is forced from the people without their consent, if not laid by their own representatives; that the Stamp Act said the colonists should have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase nor grant, nor recover debts, neither marry nor make wills, unless they paid such and such sums, and thus it was intended to extort money from them, or ruin them by the consequences of refusing to

pay;" but when the question was closely examined it became clear, as Mansfield showed, "that the distinction of internal and external taxes was false and groundless, for it was granted that restrictions upon trade and duties upon the ports were legal, at the same time that the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to lay internal taxes upon the colonies was denied. But what real difference could there be in this distinction? A tax laid at any place was like a pebble falling into and making a circle in a lake, till one circle produced and gave motion to another and the whole circumference was agitated from the centre; for nothing could be more clear than that a tax of ten or twenty per cent. laid upon tobacco either in the ports of Virginia or London was a duty laid upon the inland plantations of Virginia 100 miles from the sea wherever the tobacco grows."†

It was difficult to controvert the position assumed by the illustrious lawyer, for the whole system, of which the Navigation Act was the foundation, rested on the idea of making the colonies contribute to the wealth, and therefore also, though indirectly, to the revenue of the mother-country,

* Franklin's evidence. Papers presented to Parliament January 28th, 1766.

† The argument of Mansfield as summarized in the Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. p. 202.

while the moment that the general legislative power of Parliament was admitted, it was impossible to deny that it was no greater tyranny to enact that "deeds and contracts should be void unless written on stamped paper,"* than it would be to interfere with the personal liberty of the colonists by some arbitrary law.

The Imperial power in legislative matters was as loudly asserted in theory by Pitt and Shelburne as by Rockingham and Burke, but the former placed an important limitation on its operation. It was a limitation which fitted the circumstances of the time. The Ministry practically admitted its justice, when they repealed the Stamp Act. On the other hand the gradual development of the colonies, even if the War of Independence had never taken place, would have forced on Pitt and Shelburne an extension of the cases exempted from the general legislative power of Parliament. External taxation would have had to follow internal taxation, and the general legislative power would have had to sink into abeyance. Similarly the right of the English Commons to grant taxes was recognized before their right to intervene in legislation and foreign policy. The process would have been gradual yet certain, and the Whig statesmen and American patriots, who

* Lord Camden's speech. See the observation of Lord Campbell. Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. v. p. 255.

in 1765 were slow to ask for more than the recognition of the distinction between a commercial and a fiscal tax, only acted in the spirit of the great founders of English liberty in the seventeenth century, who "required twelve years of repeated aggression, before they learned that, to render the existence of monarchy compatible with freedom, they must not only strip it of all it had usurped, but of something that was its own."*

Such was the first beginning of the great schism of the Whig party, which from that time forward divided it into a less liberal and a more liberal branch. It lasted, till after a brief reconciliation in 1782 the two branches fell apart, and in the time of the French Revolution, the party of Newcastle and of Rockingham, of Portland and of Burke, threw in their lot with the Tory power which they had allowed to grow up and overshadow the land, while themselves engaged in quarrelling with the more liberal members of their own connection, because the latter had shewn that they believed Whig principles to consist, not in a blind adoration of the actual results of the Revolution of 1688, but rather in comprehending that those results were capable of development in accordance with the ever changing circumstances of the time. The old Whigs forgot that the aristocracy of the Revolution had been able to surmount the

* Hallam, Constit. Hist. vol. i. p. 419.

difficulty of its own want of numbers, and the hostility of large and influential interests only because it was the most enlightened, the most liberal, and the most educated class in the country. They imagined that they could still continue to hold all the offices and exercise all the patronage of the State when Newcastle and Rockingham and Portland had replaced Somers and Cowper and Godolphin. Over the declining days of their party a lustre was indeed shed by the splendid talents and eloquence of Burke, but it was the glow of autumn not the brightness of spring heralding another summer, while if Burke was their most brilliant advocate he was also their worst adviser. More especially was it so on this occasion. As Burke claimed the glory, so must he, the ablest of the old Whigs, bear the responsibility of the Declaratory Act. "Parliament," it has been said in his defence "was in the opinion of the most judicious and temperate statesmen of the time, legally competent to tax America, as it was legally competent to commit any other act of folly or wickedness, to confiscate the property of all the merchants in Lombard Street, or to attaint any man in the kingdom of high treason without examining witnesses against him or hearing in his own defence."* The argument is correct, but what would have been thought if Parliament,

* Macaulay, "Essay on Earl of Chatham."

after an unsuccessful attempt at committing one of these acts of folly or wickedness, had met, and in the face of the whole world and at the moment at which it was acknowledging the practical impossibility of accomplishing the immoral object it had aimed at, had to this confession coupled a solemn declaration of the right it possessed to try again another time. Posterity would probably have hesitated which was the greatest, the folly or the wickedness of such a course.

From the midst of the stormy scenes just described it is not unpleasant to turn to the diary which Lady Shelburne kept at this time.

January 4th.—Lord Shelburne came up to me early and read some of Thucydides' "History of the Peloponnesian War." We were particularly struck with his funeral oration to the surviving friends of the Athenians killed in the first war.

January 5th.—Lord Shelburne came up to me soon after breakfast and read part of a sermon of Abernethy's. He was called away by company, and Mr. Townshend made me a visit whilst Mr. Dunning was with my Lord.

January 10th.—Lady Louisa Fitzmaurice told us at breakfast a very genteel repartee of Mr. Greville's to the Duke of Gloucester, who was

accusing Lady Waldegrave of affectation for pretending to be ill and looking so well, to which she answered that her's was such an apple face that it never looked sick. "What do you mean by an apple face?" says the Duke of Gloucester. Mr. Greville who stood next her and saw her at a loss to explain it, answered for her, "A nonpareil, Sir." After breakfast Lord Shelburne lent me a little book called 'Le Siècle d'Alexandre" and I saw him no more till dinner, to which came Colonel Barré. After it I received a short visit from Lady Mary Hume. When she was gone to her other engagements and Lady Louisa to Princess Amelia, Lord Shelburne, Colonel Barré, and Mr. Fitzmaurice came to me and staid till near nine, when the two last went to Northumberland House. We all supped together and Lady Louisa told us Miss Emily Hervey had run away with Mr. Cope, brother to Mrs. Walker.

Sunday, January 12th.—Lady Louisa went early to St. James's Chapel, and breakfasted with Lady Charlotte Finch. At our breakfast came Dr. Leigh, an American, and Mr. Taylor, who desired Lord Shelburne to assist the Petition he is to present to the House of Commons concerning the Wells election, which he declined on account of not choosing ever to interfere with the decisions of that House. After they were gone I went to see Lord Fitzmaurice, and at my return to my own room I

found in it Lord Shelburne talking to a Mr. Case about the construction of pondheads, and desiring him to look at that Mr. Brown is constructing at Bowood on his way to Lord Egmont's, where he works.* He went away and Lord Shelburne read me two sermons before he went out. Governor Vansittart, Mr. Sulivan, Colonel Barré, and Captain Howe dined here. Lady Juliana Penn call'd in the evening. The gentlemen came up to drink tea, and after it Lord Shelburne went out with them and returned to supper. In the meantime Lady Louisa entertained me with reading to me some former letters of Lady Anne Dawson's.

January 13*th.*—Lord Shelburne read to us a paper concerning the Stamp Act in America. He afterwards rode with Colonel Barré and Mr. Townshend to see my Lord Bessborough's villa at Roehampton.

January 14*th.*—Lord Dunmore breakfasted here, and went afterwards with Lord Shelburne to the new house in Berkeley Square, and from thence to the House of Lords, the Parliament meeting to-day. Lady Louisa Manners came to us, and Mr. Ehret to me, with whom I begun the Chinese plants that blew at Bowood this summer. Mr. Sulivan, Lady Louisa, and I dined alone, the House of Lords sitting

* Brown, the famous landscape gardener, commonly known as "Capability" Brown.

late, and Lord Shelburne going afterwards to the House of Commons, where Mr. Pitt spoke on the repeal of the Stamp Act in America. The Duchess of Bolton, Miss Finches, and Miss Lowther, drank tea here, and Lady Louisa and I were gone to our rooms just as Lord Shelburne returned from Boodle's, where he supped.

January 22nd.—Lady Louisa went to Miss Lowther in the morning to learn the tambour work. Mr. Bull and a Mr. Brooks dined here. Lord Shelburne spent the evening with me. Lady Louisa went out and came home again, and heard part of Abernethy's sermon and of Thucydides' history. Lord Shelburne looked over my fine map-book, we then went to supper, and were going to retire at twelve when Colonel Clarke came and staid with Lord Shelburne till four.

February 14th.—Lord Shelburne went this morning with Colonel Barré to Mr. Pitt at Hayes and dined out. I invited Miss Sophia and Miss Harriett to come to me, and Lady Louisa dined with Lady Charlotte. Major Fitzmaurice was of our party—when they were gone I made a short visit to Lady Egmont, and carried Lady Catherine Perceval to Northumberland House, from whence I returned home by half an hour past ten. Lord Dunmore supped with us.

February 23rd.—I had a cold and did not go to

church. Lady Juliana Dawkins came to see Lord Fitzmaurice, and admired him as he deserves. I dressed him in garter blueasque, the colour that becomes him best. Mr. Nugent sent me his little girl who is very much improved. Lord Shelburne and I dined at the French Ambassador's, where we met Lord and Lady Rockingham, Lady Sandys, Sir John and Lady Griffin, the Count and Comtesse de Waldern, the Duke of Kingston, Lord Ashburnham, Mr. Fitzmaurice, and some foreigners; from thence I went to Lady Hervey's, where I met Lady Bateman and Lady Mary Fitzgerald, Lord Newnham, Mr. Crawford, and some other men I did not know. I staid about twenty minutes and then went to Lady Windsor's; from thence I came home to Lord Shelburne, who read me a sermon out of Barrow against judging others, a very necessary lesson delivered in very persuasive and pleasing terms.

February 28th, 1766.—Lord Dunmore, Mr. Hume, the author, and Mr. Cambridge,* dined here. Mr. Hume was Secretary to Lord Hertford's Embassy at Paris, when he was received with uncommon openness, on account of his reputation as an author, and the esteem the English were in then since the late peace. His company was universally courted, and he was the first person that got admission into the

The poet.

Scotch College to see seven volumes of King James the Second's writing there, which he had left to that Society at his death together with all his correspondents' letters from England, and his heart to be deposited there. The books were all wrote in his own hand, and contained an account of most part of his life. The papers he was not permitted to see, Father Gordon alleging that they contained letters from many people in England to the time of his death who never had been suspected and might suffer by their names being known. It appears from these books that, soon after the triple alliance in 1667, Charles II. concluded a Treaty with Louis XIV. with a view to establish the Roman Catholic religion in England and stipulating for the conquest and subsequent division of the Dutch territory. The only difficulty after this Treaty was which object should first take place. The Duchess of Portsmouth upon this came to England and gaining her point war broke out soon after. The King says in these memoirs that his brother, Charles II., was so bigoted that in the little Council where this Treaty was settled, he cryed for joy at the prospect of bringing in the Roman Catholic religion in England. It was signed by the Lord Arundel of Wardour at Paris on the part of the King. There were likewise several sheets of advice to his son. In them he takes his resolution

for granted and advises him of all things to beware of women; he says that very far in life he was seduced by the allurement of the sex and repeats again and again to him to beware of such cattle. He desires him to make it his first and immediate object to get that pernicious Act, the *habeas corpus*, repealed, and that for the good of the subject. For if that was done the prerogative would be strengthened, standing armies rendered unnecessary, and Government easier executed and less burthensome. He attributed most of his difficulties to his father-in-law, Lord Clarendon, not taking advantage enough of the times to gain more points in favour of prerogative.

Mr. Hume also said the Young Pretender, was in England in the year 1753 ;* that he walked all

* Earl of Albemarle to Sir T. Robinson, 21st August, 1754. "It has been positively asserted to me by a person of some note, who is strongly attached to him, but dissatisfied with his conduct, that he, the Pretendor's son, had actually been in England in great disguise as may be imagined, no longer ago than about three months; that he did not know how far he had gone, nor how long he had been there, but that he had staid till the time above mentioned, when word was brought him at Nottingham by one of his friends, that there was reason to apprehend that he was discovered or in the greatest danger of being so, and that he ought therefore to lose no time in leaving England, which he accordingly did directly. The person from whom I have this is as likely to have been informed of it as anybody of the party, and could have no particular reason to have imposed such a story upon me, which could serve no purpose." (Lansdowne House MSS.)

about London and went into Lady Primrose's, when she had a good deal of company. She was so confounded that she had scarce presence of mind to recover herself enough to call him by the fictitious name he had given her servant. When he went away her servant told her that he was prodigious like the Prince's picture that hung over the chimney. He afterwards abjured the Roman Catholic Religion in a church in the Strand, under the name even of Charles Stuart. He was at different times greatly connected with the first people of reputation in Europe, among others with M. Montesquieu. M. Helvetius did all his business for him from about the year 1750 to 1753, and was intrusted with all his secrets, and told Mr. Hume it was surprising even then how many people kept up correspondence with him from England. These people took great pains in removing prejudices from his character, but it at last ended in his having no religion at all, and by degrees he was given up by them and almost everybody who knew anything of his personal character, on account of the meanness and iniquity of it in every respect. He appears to have but one good quality or rather resolution, which was never to marry, though he has been often pressed to it, particularly by the French Court. He always said he had met with too many misfortunes to wish to contribute to anybody's suffering the like, and

was so particular on the subject that he had a daughter by Mrs. Walkinshaw, which he took particular care should be christened at Liege, and then publicly declared to be his natural daughter. The French however made a point of getting her from him, though he parted with her with great regret and difficulty. They have taken care of her, and educated her in a convent in France.

March 5th.—Lady Louisa and I went to Law, the linen draper, to give him the first breadth of the gown she is working for me in the tambour to be callendered, and from thence we went to see a picture begun of Lord Shelburne at Reynolds's, and a famous table at Mayhew's in which I was disappointed. Lord Dunmore and Colonel Barré dined here. Lady Charlotte came to see Lord Fitzmaurice in the morning, admired him, and assured me he was much bigger than any of the Princes had been and than Prince William is even now, though allowed to be a very fine child. She farther flattered me by saying she saw a strong likeness to Lord Shelburne. General Clerke came afterwards and looked at him, and was polite about him; Lord Shelburne spent the evening with us and we had no other company. Lord Shelburne met Lord Winchelsea* at the House of Lords to-day, who told him in conversation

* Lord Winchelsea was President of the Council in the administration of Lord Rockingham.

that he was seventy-eight years old. He also told Lord Shelburne that the Earl of Devonshire declared in the House of Lords, when the son of King James II. was alluded to as supposititious, that it never was *his* opinion that he was an imposture, he believed him to be the son of the King, and for that reason urged the more his exclusion. Lord Winchelsea likewise said that the Earl of Devonshire's principal motive was Lord Russell's execution, whose intimate friend he was, and from the moment of his death vowed to avenge it, being himself a man of as great courage as ever lived, a gambler too, and a very lively man.*

Sunday, April 6th.— This day past like the rest till we had just finished tea at seven o'clock in the evening, when Mr. Dunning arrived from the Bristol circuit. I left them to converse together till ten o'clock.

Tuesday, April 8th.—We arrived in town. I was quite surprised at the improvement in my dear little child, who now takes notice of a watch. Mr. Nugent and Colonel Barré dined with us.

Wednesday, April 9th.— Lord Fitzmaurice was put into a tub of water and bore it much better than I expected. General Clerke supped here.

Walpole, "Memoirr," ii. 22. "The first Duke, besides being the finest gentleman of the age, had succeeded to the merits of his friend Lord Russell's martyrdom."

Monday, April 14*th.*—We all went, after breakfast, to walk over the house in Berkeley Square,* after which I came home. After dinner my Lord came up and called me out of the room and told me that he had received a letter from the country with an account of Mr. Duckett's death, which made it necessary for him to go down the next day as he was to bring in the new member, which would be Mr. Calcraft, as he was under a sort of engagement to him, and if that met with difficulty, Mr. Dunning.† That evening he went to Mr. Pitt.

May 14*th.*—We got into the coach for Birmingham, and arrived through rough roads at nine o'clock there. We were kindly and politely received by Mr. Garbett, but before I dwell upon the curiosities of this place I must mention having seen some very good portraits at Warwick Castle, particularly one said to be an original of the famous Earl of Essex,

May 15*th.*—We breakfasted, and went soon after

* The site described at p. 106 had been bought by Lord Bute, who commenced a house upon it. Lord Shelburne bought the site and the building which he finished. He is said to have had the refusal at the time of what is now the main building of the British Museum. Adams was the architect of Shelburne House.

† Calcraft was returned. He held the seat till 1768 when Dunning succeeded him.

with Mr. Garbett* to see the manufactory of buttons and hardwares which are very curious, and entertained us very much till dinner-time. Mr. Taylor, the principal manufacturer there, dined with us, and we went afterwards to Mr. Boldens who trades much in the same way. His house is a very pretty one about a mile out of the town, and his workshops newly built at the end of his garden where they take up a large piece of ground which he has named Soho Square; there, as in the morning, we purchased some watch chains and trinkets at an amazing cheap price and drank tea afterwards in his house, which is a very pleasant one. We returned home to supper between nine and ten, for we kept early hours. Mr. Basherville supped with us.

May 16*th.*—This morning we went to Gimlett's where we bought a great many toys and saw his warehouse of watches, &c., one of which I bought for Master Parker. We also went to a quaker's to see the making of guns, but neither Lady Louisa or I being much interested about that, we left Lord Shelburne and Mr. Garbett and went with his son to the toyshops where we made some purchases. At Mr. Taylor's we met again and he made and ennamel'd a landscape on the top of a box before

* There are a great number of letters and papers from Mr. Garbett on commercial questions among the Lansdowne House MSS.

us which he afterwards gave me as a curiosity from my having seen it done. The method of doing it is this: a stamping instrument managed only by one woman first impresses the picture on paper, which paper is then laid even upon a piece of white enamel and rubbed hard with a knife, or instrument like it, till it is marked upon the box. Then there is spread over it with a brush some metallic colour reduced to a fine powder which adheres to the moist part and, by putting it afterwards into an oven for a few minutes, the whole is completed by fixing the colour. We came home, dined, went again to Gimlett's and from thence to drink tea at Mr. Taylor's villa. This is a very handsome house with a dairy and garden about it. His wife and daughter, a girl of about fourteen, received us and she played on the harpsichord and sung to us. Mr. Taylor and his son walked about with Lord Shelburne and Mr. Garbett. After this Mr. Frank Garbett went with Lady Louisa and me in the coach to Mr. Basherville's, which is also a pretty place out of the town; he showed us his garden and hothouse, Mrs. Basherville the Japan, which business she has chiefly the management of. By this time Mr. Garbett and Lord Shelburne, who walked, arrived; he bought some new books printed by Mr. Basherville, and I some Japan, and it being now dark we returned home.

May 17*th.*—As soon as breakfast was over we went to see the making of buckles, *papier maché* boxes, and the melting, painting, and stamping of glass. By twelve o'clock we returned to Mr. Garbett's, took some chocolate and, thanking him for our entertainment at Birmingham, got into our coach to return home, the young Mr. Garbett being of the party till we got through the town. Then we parted, giving him an invitation to Bowood Park and dined at Shipston; at night we lay at Chappel-on-the-Heath.

May 19*th.*—After breakfast Lady Louisa went to attend Princess Amelia, and we sent, without success, to Eton to desire leave for Master Parker to come to us. We dined alone, and in the evening Lord Shelburne was so good to write for me the following account of the place we had been so much amused at:

"Birmingham originally had no manufacture except a small one of linen thread, which continues there to this day, though now to the amount of ten or twelve thousand pounds. It is not fifty years since the hardware began to make a figure, from thence begun by people not worth above three or four hundred pounds a-piece, some of which are now worth three or four hundred thousand, particularly a Mr. Taylor, the most established manufacturer and trader; some however are beginning to rival him

in the extent of his trade. Its great rise was owing to two things, first the discovery of mixed metal so mollient or ductile as easily to suffer stamping, the consequence of which is they do buttons, buckles, toys, and everything in the hardware way by stamping machines which were before obliged to be performed by human labour. Another thing quickly followed, instead of employing the same hand to finish a button or any other thing, they subdivide it into as many different hands as possible, finding beyond doubt that the human faculties by being confined to a repetition of the same thing become more expeditious and more to be depended on than when obliged or suffered to pass from one to another. Thus a button passes through fifty hands, and each hand perhaps passes a thousand in a day; likewise, by this means, the work becomes so simple that, five times in six, children of six or eight years old do it as well as men, and earn from ten pence to eight shillings a week. There are besides an infinity of smaller improvements which each workman has and sedulously keeps secret from the rest. Upon the whole they have reduced the price so low that the small matter of gold on a button makes the chief expense of it, being as three to one including all other materials and manufacture. However, they have lately discovered a method of washing them with aquafortis, which gives them the colour of gold,

and are come to stamp them so well that 'tis scarce possible at any distance to distinguish them from a thread button. There are many other manufactures here; most of the spirit of hartshorn consumed in England, and oil of a great quantity, but the greatest manufacture of that is now removed to Preston Pans in Scotland. The reason Mr. Garbett gave for it was, first, secrecy as to the method of making it (which is almost impossible to preserve in Birmingham, there is so much enterprise and sharpness); next, the cheapness of provisions; and, lastly, the obedient turn of the Scotch. Refining of gold and silver, and gun making to a prodigious amount for exportation are likewise another branch of their trade, of which they send annually above a hundred and fifty thousand to the coast of Africa, some of which are sold for five and sixpence a-piece, but what is shocking to humanity, above half of them from the manner they are finished in, are sure to burst in the first hand that fires them. If an Act of Parliament was passed ordering a proof-master to be settled at the expence of the manufacturers themselves, for one shilling more the barrels might be properly bored and finished, so as to secure the buyer at least from certain danger, the trade by this means assured and confirmed in its present channel, and the moral infamy in the individuals who are thus induced to multiply gain, suppressed. This trade, great as it is,

is not above twenty or twenty-five years' standing. Another thing they are in great want of is an assay-master, which is allowed both at Chester and York; but it is very hard on a manufacturer to be obliged to send every piece of plate to Chester to be marked, without which no one will purchase it, where the great object of the whole trade is to make a quantity and thus to reduce the profits as low as 'tis possible. It would be of infinite public advantage if silver plate came to be manufactured here as watches lately are, and that it should be taken out of the imposing monopoly of it in London."

June 16*th.*—Bowood. As soon as breakfast was over we took a walk and were vastly pleased with the effect of the water which flows into a magnificent river, and only wants now to rise to its proper height which it comes nearer to every day.

July 14*th.*—This morning at seven o'clock Mr. Taylor knocked at the door and brought in a letter for my Lord, come by an express. It was from Mr. Pitt.

To understand the contents of this letter it is necessary to leave Lady Shelburne and return to politics.

There are some victories which are fatal to those

that win them. Such was the victory of the Rockingham administration on the question of the Stamp Act. The popular belief was that they had not consented to the repeal of the obnoxious tax till "bullied into it" by Pitt. Years after, Burke himself witnessed to the intensity of that feeling,* the justice of which has been proved by evidence which not all the eloquence of all the orators can put out of court. It was in that belief that the voice of the nation, notwithstanding the imperfect condition of the means by which it would make itself heard, demanded that Pitt should be called to the head of the affairs. Rockingham bowed to the storm. Already he saw his colleagues deserting him, but though conscious that Grafton resigned and Conway wished to resign because he and not Pitt held the helm, he still attempted to remain a little longer at the post of most responsibility, and to treat as an equal with the statesman whom the country wished to see armed with almost dictatorial powers. But not only the country but the King as well, was hostile to the Whigs. The liberal measures with which Rockingham followed up the repeal of the Stamp Act, though insufficient to neutralize the popular cry, only rendered him more and more obnoxious to the Court, which had one thing—and one only—in common with Pitt, its

* Burke, speech on American taxation, April 19th, 1774.

hatred of the old Whig connection. Thus it was that when the Administration was but a year old, its premature decrepitude ended in dissolution and death. Pitt, once more summoned by the King, now refused to treat with any one. He even ventured at last, though ill and suffering, to defy the refusal of the overbearing Temple to act with him. To the friends of Rockingham he offered office, but to Rockingham himself he tendered no invitation.

It has been said that he should have heartily joined with the Whigs, and Rockingham, it has been argued, especially by comparison, showed great moderation at this difficult moment.* But while Pitt desired to act cordially with the Whigs and on Whig principles, he yet was determined not to be dictated to by any connection. He himself declared he "acceded to the present administration, not they to him, and that he brought not a single man along with him that had not voted with him all the last winter."† Whatever faults he was guilty of at this time, were faults of manner and of style arising from his love of stilted expressions and turgid writing. His actions were not susceptible of blame. To Grafton, Conway, Dowdeswell, Lord John Cavendish, Dartmouth, Hertford, Charles Townshend, and the Duke of Portland, he offered places in the Ministry. It was

* Macaulay, "Essay on the Earl of Chatham."

† Walpole, "Memoirs," ii. 350.

the fault of Lord John Cavendish, not of Pitt, if he, with Dartmouth and Dowdeswell, refused those offers. Whether Rockingham would have consented to fill any place inferior to that which he had so lately occupied is not certain. His presence in that place and indeed in any other, would have made the Ministry a coalition Ministry. This was precisely what Pitt intended it should not be, and as for the moderation of Rockingham it was shown by his refusing even to receive Pitt when the latter called at his house.*

In the new arrangements Shelburne was appointed Secretary of State notwithstanding the strongly expressed dislike of the King.† Pitt would not tolerate dictation by the King any more than by the aristocracy, though he veiled his rule over the former in forms and under expressions which, to those even who knew him best, seemed redolent of more than courtier-like servility. On the 13th of July he had written to Shelburne, then at Bowood, asking him to come to town immediately, "as he had an earnest desire to see him, and receive his lights and confidential opinions on the important business in which by the King's orders he was engaged." Shelburne hastened from the country,‡

* Walpole, "Memoirs," vol. ii. 356.

† Walpole, "Memoirs," vol. ii. 349.

‡ Lady Shelburne's Diary, July 14th.

and, on the 15th, found Pitt at Hampstead so prostrated by his illness, and the stormy interview with Temple on the previous day, as to be utterly unfit to see him, and only able to write another letter "to express his warm sense of the confidence and friendship of Lord Shelburne together with a most anxious impatience to be in a condition to see him, and confer on the present crisis."* The illness continuing, no interview was possible till the 20th, when Shelburne "found Pitt much reduced by his fever." At this interview he was offered the seals, and, on the 23rd, the Royal objection to the appointment having in the interval been overcome, his formal appointment was notified to him in the following letter:

Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Shelburne.

July 23rd.

Being obliged from my present state of health to get back to the air of North End to dinner, I can only have the honour to transmit His Majesty's most gracious commands to your Lordship to attend him to-morrow at twelve at the Queen's House by this hasty line, instead of waiting on you in person to express my joy at the choice the King has made of a Secretary of State every way so advantageous

* Pitt to Shelburne. July 18th. The date is incorrectly given in the Chatham Correspondence.

to His Majesty's service as well as flattering to all my wishes, public and private. Lord Northington, President of the Council; Lord Camden, the Great Seal; your humble servant, Privy Seal. As yet the arrangements are in the King's intentions only. Colonel Barré, Vice Treasurer. The fever still continuing in a small degree together with some fatigue, forbids me to add more. Words cannot convey my sense of the Royal goodness. I am ever, with affectionate respect,

My dear Lord's
Most faithful friend and humble servant,
WILLIAM PITT.

Shelburne replied as follows:

Hill Street, July 24th, 1766.

DEAR SIR,—I am this moment honoured with your letter, and am as much obliged to you for the contents as my sense of my own inability will allow me. Your private wishes being engaged in my fortunes is indeed most flattering to me, and though I suspect they have already led you further on my account than you have told me, I cannot now help requesting most earnestly their continuance as they alone can make the situation you mention honourable or happy, and I can with the greatest truth affirm that they alone encourage

the undertaking it. I shall take care to be prepared to attend His Majesty at twelve to-morrow to receive his commands. I shall be very desirous for a few minutes' conversation with you afterwards, and will call at Hampstead in the evening in hopes of it, if the next morning will not be more convenient or another time. I will take care not to abuse your permission by detaining you too long either then or now, as I trust you will believe no individual feels more concerned for Mr. Pitt's health, than one who has so much reason to be, with the greatest respect, dear Sir,

Your most obliged
Humble servant,
SHELBURNE.

P. S.—You must permit me to add how happy I am in the choice of a Chancellor.

Thus was formed the administration of the Earl of Chatham, for when Pitt took the Privy Seal from the hands of the aged Newcastle, he at the same time ceased to be a commoner. This was the first mistake which he committed. "Nous ne pouvons comprendre ici," wrote Choiseul* from Compiègne

* This letter is from a copy at Lansdowne House. The original was no doubt one of the many despatches intercepted by the English Government at this time.

to Guerchy in London, "quel a été le dessein de My lord Chatham en quittant la Chambre des Communes. Il nous paroissoit que toute sa force consistoit dans sa continuation dans cette chambre, et il pourroit bien se trouver comme Sampson après qu'on lui eût coupé les cheveux. Ce que nous avons à craindre c'est que cet homme altier et ambitieux ayant perdu la considération populaire, ne veuille se relever de sa perte par des exploits guerriers, et des projets de conquêtes qui puissent lui procurer de la réputation. Je suis persuadé que la querelle de My lord Chatham avec son beau-frerè My lord Temple ne durera pas. Ils se raccommoderont, et il y aura encore un nouveau changement dans le Ministère. C'est pour cela que l'on a laissé la place à M. Conway. Je suis persuadé que le Duc de Grafton la reprendra, et cédera la sienne à My lord Temple, lequel aura à sa disposition la nomination de celle de My lord Egmont, et de celle des plantations. Alors le Ministère d'Angleterre aura une certaine consistance, sans cela avec l'opposition de My lord Temple, l'ineptie de M. Conway, la jeunesse et peut-être l'étourderie de My lord Shelburne quoique gouverné par M. Pitt, il ne sera pas plus fort qu'il ne l'étoit ci-devant. My lord Chatham a pris une charge trop forte d'être le Gouverneur de tout le monde et le Protecteur de tous."

In these words did the French Minister sketch his

hopes and fears to his colleague in London, but graver misfortunes than a mistake about an office, or than the opposition of any individual however powerful, were to be the causes of the ruin of the Ministry of the Earl of Chatham.

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